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The Kindergarten in the Home

The
Kindergarten
in the Home

A Book for Parents and for
All Interested in Child-Training

By
Carrie S. Newman

Illustrated by
Etheldred B. Barry

"The Angel Life within each child is more
precious than any other thing in the world."

— Andrea Hofer Proudfoot.



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TO
THE DEAR SISTER, BROTHER, AND LITTLE NIECES
WHOSE HOME LIFE IS A CONSTANT SOURCE
OF INSPIRATION,
I DEDICATE THIS LITTLE BOOK.

“ The distant stars were shining long before their rays reached our earth ; the seed germinates in darkness and is growing long before we can see its growth ; so in the depths of an infant soul a process goes on which is hidden from our ken, yet upon which hangs more than we can dream of good or ill, happiness, or misery.” — FROEBEL.

Preface

Each year of work in the Kindergarten deepens the conviction that in Froebel's writings are hidden rich gems for the mother in her work of home building and child nurture.

His style, however, is somewhat obscure, and the busy mother with her limited time for reading is not likely, unaided, to penetrate into his deep secrets.

It, therefore, becomes both the duty and the privilege of those who have the leisure and inclination to delve into these mines of truth, to unearth and bring to the notice of

those actively engaged in child nurture these priceless gems.

To present in a simple and attractive form some of the truths underlying Froebel's system of education is the object of this book.

If, by its words, a deeper reverence for child-nature is awakened in some breast; if new light is thrown upon the problems which confront parents in their work; if fresh inspiration and joy is kindled in some heart and some home blessed thereby, its mission will be fulfilled, and the writer abundantly repaid for the hours spent upon it.

Having found a source of light and inspiration one longs to lead other thirsty souls to the same fountain.

The deep importance of the first years of life, and the impressions gained then, grows on one as the years go by, and makes one

long for the privilege of assisting, in some humble way, in the great work of training the coming citizens of the world.

May it be true of this little book that wherever it goes “the grass grows greener still.” Because of its message may some little life unfold in greater beauty and perfection.

CARRIE S. NEWMAN.

Toronto, May, 1909.

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The Kindergarten in the Home

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST GIFT

A little stranger had arrived at the Brown homestead and as the dear mother lay resting, with the precious bundle, her first-born son, asleep beside her, her thoughts travelled back over the past months of joyful preparation.

There, in the bureau bought for this special purpose, lay the dainty little garments it had been such a joy to fashion, and side by side with the tiny shirts and

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jackets lay the coloured Kindergarten balls she had made, "food for his heart and mind," as she laughingly told her friends. Thinking of the balls, she lifted her eyes to what she called "the baby's shelf," as on it were kept the books she and the dear father had studied so earnestly during the past months. There was the valuable book on the care of the little body, but more precious still were the books telling how to care for the awakening mind and soul. Oh, what an earnest prayer arose in her heart for blessings on the dear friend who had first led her to see that in her baby she would have not only a little body to care for, but, wonderful thought, an immortal soul, and that to a very great extent the making or marring of that soul lay in her hands!

As week after week she and her husband had read and pondered on this gigantic thought, the tremendous responsibility of parenthood had taken hold of them and touched them deeply, so that many times a day the prayer rose spontaneously in their hearts, "Father, make us fit to have a little child to train."

Tears of joy sprang to her eyes as she recalled the look on Frank's face as he said to her at their last reading, "If every man could gain an insight into this teaching what different lives we should all live. I feel bigger and stronger every time I dip into one of these books."

Presently a smile hovered over her face as she recalled the laughter and fun they had learning to sing nursery rhymes and play ball games that they might be ready in every way for their little visitor. Then,

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too, what a depth of meaning they had often found in these little songs that at first sight seemed so simple!

“ As soon as I am strong enough I must gather some of my mother-friends together and interest them in this study,” was the next thought of this awakened mother. Frank coming in just then she told him this thought. He heartily agreed, only adding, “ Why leave out the fathers? ”

During the first few weeks of our baby's earthly life he nursed and slept, slept and nursed as all good babies should. One day during this time our mother ran in to visit one of her neighbours and found her ten-weeks' old baby lying in the cradle sucking a rubber nipple.

“ You must get one of these comforts for your baby,” said her friend. “ They are comforts indeed: as soon as he gets

restless we just put it in his mouth and it keeps him quiet for a long time."

"No," said our mother thoughtfully, "I don't think I shall. It doesn't seem to me that is a right principle to work on. He isn't physically hungry, why then put something into his mouth? It seems to me the same thing as trying to satisfy an older child who is restless because he is unoccupied, by giving him a cake or some candy. Is it not training him to seek satisfaction in the physical nature rather than in the intellectual and spiritual?"

"But how could you give a wee baby intellectual and spiritual food?" was the astonished answer.

"Come to our home this evening and I will show you the coloured balls and tell you about the songs and games we have prepared for just this purpose," was her

reply as she took her departure happy in the thought of sharing with another the great light that had come into her own life.

As Baby Robert, as he had been named, neared his third month he spent more time wide awake. The parents wisely refrained from taking him up as soon as he awakened, and let him lie as long as he was content. When he became restless, however, they hung the soft red ball where he could watch it comfortably, sometimes lowering it so that as he tossed his hands about he would touch it and set it gently in motion. Often they were rewarded by chuckles and coos of delight.

Then the mother began regularly playing with her baby, using the ball as his first plaything, realizing that as he had a three-fold nature and that play was the

means provided for educating the heart and mind as well as the body in early life, this was as essential to his development as the daily food and bath and should be as carefully planned for.

With the little fellow sitting on her lap, she would swing the ball gently to and fro by its string, singing "Here, there," or "To and fro," or, suiting the action to the words, "Up, Down," "Around and around," or "Jump, ball, jump," baby's eyes following the movement. At first these games were played very gently and just for a few minutes at a time, both the length of time and the vigour being gradually increased to keep pace with baby's development.

One of the books studied both before and after baby's arrival was "Pedagogics of the Kindergarten," by Friedrich Froe-

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bel, the founder of the Kindergarten.
This, together with Kindergarten song



books by various authors, supplied them
with suggestions for these early games as
well as later ones.

This playtime soon became a great joy not only to baby but to his father and mother as well.

After several weeks' play with the red ball, the blue ball was put in its place, this followed by the yellow, then the three played with together, and they soon became familiar and dearly loved playmates, care being taken to use the colour name very often, talking and singing of "Red Ball," "Blue Ball," or whichever was being used at the time. The orange, green and violet were not given him till a later period.

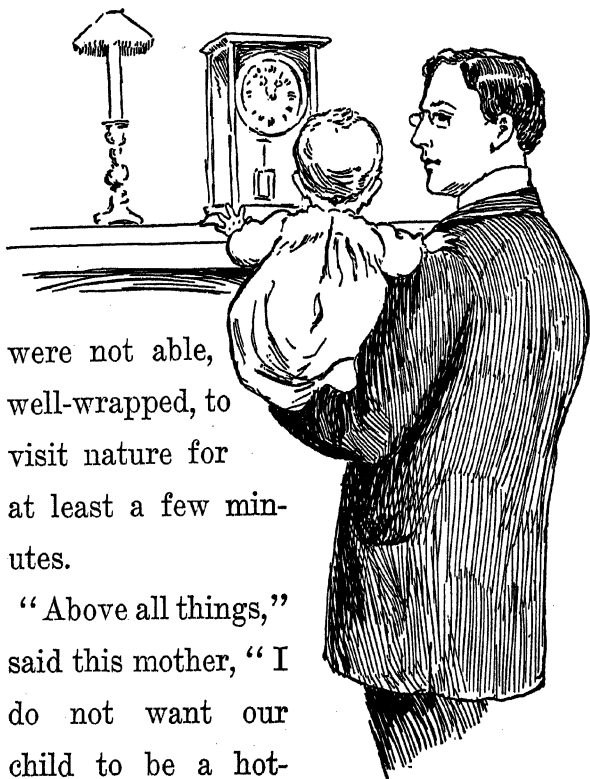
At first father or mother played the game, while baby watched, but very soon he could join in. He learned to grasp the ball by having it put into his tiny palm and the fingers closed gently around it, and it was not long before he would laugh

gaily when one of them took hold of the string and pulled it out of his hand. His hold became stronger each time this game was played, showing that the muscles were being developed by the exercise. Care was taken that both hands were used in these games that both sides of the body should be equally developed.

One day about this time as Father was carrying Robert across the room he noticed his eyes fastened on the pendulum of the clock as it swung to and fro. He paused and holding him up before it swung the little arm in imitation. It soon became a regular thing thus to stop and imitate the swing of the pendulum and the tick-tock of the clock, then to play that the balls were pendulums.

Robert and his mother spent much time every day out of doors, for this she con-

sidered very important for them both, and there were few days so stormy that they



were not able, well-wrapped, to visit nature for at least a few minutes.

“Above all things,” said this mother, “I do not want our child to be a hot-house plant.”

So every care was taken both before

and after birth to give this little soul a strong, healthy body to work with: good wholesome food, cleanliness, plenty of fresh air, wise physical exercise and high, noble thoughts were to them the necessary conditions for a healthy body, and these they earnestly strove to supply.

In these outdoor rambles our mother found that the objects which first attracted her baby were animals. She was surprised to find at what an early age the cat, dog, chickens and flying birds appealed to him, and she began at once to develop this love for his "dumb brothers" by herself expressing sympathy by means of caresses and kind words, often, too, laying the tiny hand on the back of doggy or pussy and so helping baby to pet them. Crumbs and seeds were frequently taken with them to draw the birds and chickens they met on

their way close about baby's carriage. These little experiences were repeated with the balls, indoors, and great was the parents' delight when in answer to the words, "Fly little bird," sung by one of them, baby would swing his ball.

When Robert was strong enough to sit on a quilt or rug on the floor he would often amuse himself with his bright balls for a long time, and many a jolly game he and father had rolling and tossing the balls or playing they were doggies running, pussies jumping or birds flying, and great was the joy of both parents when baby joined his little cooing, humming sound to the song. Years after it was the proud boast of Robert, "My father and I have been chums since long before I could walk."

He used to declare that he could remem-

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ber these plays of his first year, but that was probably because one of his dearest life-long treasures was a book containing the history of his first seven years. There on the first page was the photograph of his parents on their wedding day, while page two showed them at the time of his birth with the house and the room in which he was born. Then came photographs of himself in many different positions, first in long clothes, then in short, asleep in his first bed, in his carriage, in mother's arms, in father's, sitting alone and so on. Here he saw himself taking his first steps, in his first boys' suit; saw how he looked when he first went to school. Here he had a record of the first word he spoke, the date when he first walked alone, and accounts of his first games, his first pets, his first friends, his own quaint say-

ings, all written in the one dear handwriting.

“It must have been a lot of bother to make this book,” he once said to his mother. “Why did you do it?”

“Well, dear,” was the answer, “I had often wished that I knew more of my own early life. I questioned with one of our Kindergarten writers, ‘Should we not better understand what we are if we knew how we came to be?’ and so I felt it might be a help to you children to have these early records.”

When Robert began to creep about, which he did very early as he had from the first been given plenty of opportunity to kick and toss about his little limbs, his father made a fence which could in a moment be set up in nursery or sitting room or in fine weather on the lawn, and as

quickly taken down, and in this fold with his dear woolly lamb, his rag-doll and his bright balls, he was as happy as a king while mother sat near by with her sewing or moved about attending to household duties.

When the parents found that baby was pleased with a sharp noise such as he could make by pounding with a spoon they knew he was ready for Froebel's second gift, the wooden sphere, cube and cylinder. So one day when father was rolling one of the soft balls back and forth to baby, who was being helped by mother to perform his part of the game, he exchanged it for the wooden sphere and both were interested to see the puzzled look on baby's face as he heard the sound on the bare floor. It was added to his playthings and many of the old games played with it and

some new ones added, the addition of ability to make sounds giving great pleasure.

One of the games of which he never tired was to watch the sphere roll round and round on a plate as it was inclined first this way and then that, while father or mother sang,

“ Around, Around;
How happy now am I.
Around Around,
I turn now full of glee.
Be happy thou like me,”

or some other rhyme improvised for the purpose.

Robert had been playing with the balls for some little time when his mother noticed that he put out his hand as she carried him past the round top of the balustrade post, and seemed much pleased when

she stopped and let him touch it, showing that he was beginning to notice the forms about him and pick out the familiar ones. Sometime before this he had put out his little hands towards bright-coloured objects like his balls.

When the wooden cube was put amongst his playthings he soon discovered that it would not move like his ball, which ran away from him at the slightest touch.

With the cubes and cylinder he began his first building and amused himself for longer and longer periods piling one upon another and then pushing them down.

A lady who made the Browns a visit at this time was greatly interested in little Robert and his first educational steps and had many questions to ask about it. "It seems to me," she said one day, "a most sensible idea to choose from out the great

chaos of forms and colours with which the civilized child finds himself surrounded when he awakens in this new world, those which are typical and present them one at a time so that he may get a few clear, distinct impressions in place of many vague, indistinct ones. It certainly must be a wonderful help to the young mind and build up the brain in a way which would be impossible otherwise. Then, too, to connect the sensation received through the senses as he looks at and handles his gifts with the proper terms and this by means of song, the voice of love, is a most happy thought."

Robert was six months old when Mrs. Brown decided to take into their home for a few months the three children of her widowed sister while she was absent in a distant part of the country. "I am the

more pleased to do this because I have always felt that Mary did not understand her children and was making some serious mistakes in their training, and this will give me an opportunity to study them and so be better able to advise her," said she to her husband.

"And the effort to understand and help them will be the very best preparation for understanding our own children," was his answer.

The three little visitors were Jamie, who had just passed his sixth birthday, Lulu, four years of age, and May, aged two and a half.

The nurse who had been with them since Jamie's babyhood came to help take care of them. She was a kind-hearted Scotch woman who loved the children dearly but thought it unwise to show her love. She

had been brought up on a system of repression and strove to apply the same methods with her young charges. "Children must be obedient," were the words most often on her lips, and Mrs. Gray was often congratulated on having such an excellent nurse who took almost entire charge of the children, leaving her much time to devote to church and society duties.

Up to her light Nursie was a most excellent woman and as a mother's assistant would have been most valuable, relieving her of much of the physical care and strain that she might be free to nourish the higher nature of her children, but what hireling however competent can take a mother's place? Alas, how many of God's little ones are bountifully, often luxuriously, cared for in all external ways, while their inner selves are stunted, dwarfed,

starved for lack of intelligent care and understanding!

Nursie's chief concern was to keep her little charges fresh and clean and to protect their bodies from all danger and disease; it was her proud boast that no scratch or bruise was ever to be found upon them.

That children grow by means of activity of body and mind; that experimenting, testing, trying their wings was an absolute necessity for full development, and that in developing we must often make mistakes, and do a certain amount of stumbling and falling, was a theory of which she had never dreamed. She, good woman, felt guilty if for a moment one of them strayed out of her sight or met with the slightest accident. "Always ask me before you do anything; then you won't

get into trouble," was her kindly meant but unwise advice.

However, of late even she had begun to feel that something was wrong, whether with the children or herself she hardly knew. Master Jamie was sullen and discontented, Lulu often so stubborn she could do nothing with her, while Baby May seemed the very personification of mischief the moment her eye was off her.

So when Mrs. Brown with much trepidation suggested that as soon as the children felt at home she should take charge of them during the morning and leave her free to assist with the housework and sewing, much to her surprise Nursie made no objection, though she said, "I'm afraid, Ma'am, you'll find them a handful. They are very hard to manage, though they've been so carefully brought up."

During the first days while Nursie was in full charge both Mr. and Mrs. Brown kept their eyes and ears wide open in their anxiety to understand the children and the particular needs of each. With their knowledge of and sympathy with child-nature they were not long in putting their finger on the source of the sullenness and discontent almost habitually pictured on Jamie's face, and of the stubborn fits Nursie complained of in Lulu.

They saw that Nursie's training consisted very largely of an almost continuous series of "Don'ts." When the children were taken out of doors they were naturally seized with a desire to examine everything within sight, to run and jump and caper as all young things should, but Nursie's idea was to take them for a walk, little May holding her hand and Lulu and

Jamie walking before her, according to her ideas, "Like a little lady and gentleman." Any attempt to run on ahead, to jump off the sidewalk, to examine the hundreds of curious things in the grass or the little ponds, was quickly repressed. "They'd make themselves hot, or soil their clothes, or fall and hurt themselves." And so we have the sight, sad indeed to one who understands child-nature, its needs and grand possibilities, but which may be seen in any city on any pleasant summer day, of little children starched and be-frilled, compelled to walk up and down the board walks as sedately as if they were eighty years of age, blind and deaf to the wonders with which the great world is everywhere teeming, God's lesson books spread out before the childish eyes, Nature crying out "Look, touch, handle, learn,"

but ignorance commanding "Leave it alone, you'll soil your clothes."

Mrs. Brown, with Robert in his carriage accompanied Nurse and the children on one of these walks. A few days afterward she said, "Nurse, suppose I take the children out this morning so you can sort the clothes and see to the mending. But put on some plain clothes and their stout shoes, so that it won't matter if they should soil them." Nurse looked her disapproval of the latter request, for of all things she loved to see them daintily dressed when they went out, but the prospect of a morning free from the children, together with the quiet determination in Mrs. Brown's face and voice, kept her silent.

When the children returned from their walk with rosy cheeks and tongues which could not move quickly enough in their

desire to tell Uncle Frank, whom they had met on their way home, of all they had seen and done, they looked askance at their dusty shoes and dirty hands and said in a whisper, "What will Nursie say?"

But Auntie only laughed, and leading them round to the side door helped them off with their shoes, saying, "Now run up to Nursie and ask her to wash your hands and faces and give you your slippers."

After lunch Lulu as well as May, much to Nursie's surprise, was ready for a nap, and Jamie amused himself for a long time sorting the leaves, stones and flowers which he had brought home. Under Uncle's direction he made holes in the top of a box for a home for a beautiful caterpillar he had found and, joy of joys to the hungry young naturalist—and what child is not

that? — had not only been allowed but encouraged to bring home and keep as a pet.

The next day and for several days afterwards the rain poured down, so instead of a walk Mrs. Brown had to devise indoor work and play. Early in the morning she came upon Jamie sulking behind a door. She waited until Nurse had gone into another room, then followed and inquired about it.

“He has some nonsense about going out to get leaves for a caterpillar or something of that kind. Of course he can’t go out in the rain,” was the reply.

Mrs. Brown made no comment, but after some pleasant chat about the style for Lulu’s new dress — a subject very dear to Nursie’s heart—in which she gave up her own idea and allowed Nurse to have her way, thinking, “It will pay to give in in



these external matters for the sake of winning in the higher," she said, "Don't you think we might put on Jamie's coat and rubbers and let him run out for the leaves? It won't take a minute if I go with him and it will make him happy." Winning a somewhat reluctant agreement, she ran off to comfort Jamie's heart, whispering to her husband as she passed him in the hall, "You can't imagine how diplomatic I'm growing."

Coming upstairs, broom and dust-pan in hand, later in the morning Nursie was surprised and mystified at the happy scene in the nursery. Baby Robert sat in the centre of the group on the floor holding one of his beloved balls, and from time to time imitating the others, who just now were listening breathlessly to Auntie as she told them a wonderful story about

Jamie's caterpillar; how if he fed it every day with some of the green leaves he had found it upon, it would spin a tiny nest in which it would go to sleep, then by and by wake up no longer a creeping caterpillar but a glorious butterfly such as they had often seen flying about. The children then played that the balls were caterpillars crawling on the ground, eating green leaves, then spinning a cocoon and going to sleep to finally wake up beautiful butterflies sipping honey from imaginary flowers made by the left hand while the right hand held the ball, accompanying the game with the little song "Fuzzy little Caterpillar," found in the Finger-Play Book by Emilie Poullson, the pictures of which greatly interested them.

Presently Lulu jumped up, and running to a bouquet of real flowers on the table

let her butterfly (ball) sip the honey there, and the other children quickly followed.

“ I didn’t know there was honey in flowers,” said Jamie.

To which Auntie answered by breaking off a nasturtium bloom and letting him taste the drop of sweet juice hidden in it. She then suggested that each should find about the room all the objects of the same colour as the ball he held, making the agreement that they should not touch anything, but tell her what they found.

While she was busy with Robert a gay party of discoverers was at work in this and adjoining rooms, and there were continual shouts of “ Auntie, this curtain’s red; ” “ Auntie, your pincushion has some blue on it,” etc.

As it was now time for Robert’s morning nap, Auntie called the children to her,

and, giving to each of them a saucer full of Kindergarten beads (large wooden beads of the six colours of the spectrum, indigo being omitted as too difficult for the children to discriminate) and a shoe-string, she left them to the ever-fascinating stringing of beads.

This box of beads was a great source of joy all through the winter to the two younger children, and for sometime to Jamie also.

At first simply stringing the beads satisfied them, afterwards they enjoyed having a set task given them, such as, thread all the red, all the green, all the yellow; one yellow, one violet; two blue, three red, and repeat till the string is full. Sometimes they played the beads were fruit and picked out the oranges, the red apples or the grapes, either stringing them or ar-

ranging them in rows. Jamie liked to play he was store-keeper and sell the different fruits and vegetables to the others. Then, that they might learn the source of these things, Auntie would suggest that they play they were trees or vines and fasten the coloured balls on for fruit.

The beads are not all spheres, but cubes and cylinders as well, and sometimes the children came to Auntie and Nurse as they sat sewing, selling spools (cylinders) of coloured silk or boxes (cubes) containing all sorts of wonderful things, when Auntie would say, "Yes, I'll take four spools of green silk," or "Give me five boxes of pins, please, three blue and two yellow," and then help the little tradesman to pick out the correct number, giving him thus in his play much exercise in counting and so preparing him for his later school work.

Little May liked to have two boxes to fill and refill with the beads.

Adding the large cubes and cylinder of the Second Gift gave many more possibilities in the way of store-keeping and other games invented by the children, helped out by occasional suggestions from Aunt or Uncle. Imitating the work going on in the home, the cube was sometimes a stove on which bead kettles and saucepans gaily boiled, while water from the cylinder standing beside it and connected by sticks for water pipes was freely drawn to wash the bead dishes, the lively sphere making a most active and busy cook; on a second cube were carefully arranged the jars of jelly and preserves which Lulu displayed with housewifely pride. Mrs. Brown never failed to enter with genuine interest into such play, realizing that by

her sympathy she was watering seeds which were well worth nurturing in view of the fruit they would yield in later life. The child's actual powers are so limited that without this imaginative play the spirit would be sadly cramped and fettered.

The long oblong box in which the Second Gift forms are kept, with the round and squared sticks which come with it, made excellent boats and carts to be loaded with all sorts of merchandise and dragged about the room.

Mrs. Brown was careful, too, to talk much with the children in their play in order to assist them in taking possession of the kingdom of language. Knowing well the "pangs of word hunger," she was anxious to give them every assistance in gaining freedom of speech, power to ex-

press well in language their growing ideals. With this thought in view both she and Mr. Brown were careful in conversation with the children to speak clearly and distinctly as well as to use the proper terms, and as a consequence their children were noted for their clear enunciation and ready flow of language, and so a constant joy to their teachers. Slovenly language was as much discouraged as slovenly manners.

When Uncle came home one evening with several bunches of sticks of various lengths, which he had bought for a few cents at a Kindergarten shop, he showed them how to build famous fences by standing cubes and cylinders with the holes on top and inserting a stick in each, and to represent human beings by standing a cylinder on a cube, a sphere on the cylinder, and running a stick through the three.

The latter were easily moved about and henceforth figured in many a play.

Jamie's heart was delighted about this time by the present of a box of paints and a quantity of cheap water-colour paper, and he was continually finding something



in his walks or play out of doors which he would bring in and try to paint. Painting the pictures in old magazines occupied much of his time and drew forth many questions as to the meaning of the pictures. What he enjoyed most of all, however, was painting imaginary scenes and telling all about them.

“What an excellent preparation for future composition writing. He’ll have plenty of ideas in his head and also know how to express them,” said a teacher who was calling one afternoon. “Why don’t you get a black-board for him? That would develop the larger freer movement so important in writing and drawing, as well as give him greater scope for expression.”

The visible results of this pictorial work were naturally very crude, but out of crude beginnings grow many beautiful things, and his Aunt and Uncle knowing that the real results of all such work were not visible but wrought into the fibre of his life and character, treated all his little productions with respect, and many a slip of paper with scrawlings on it was sent to the absent mother with glowing descriptions of her boy’s unfolding. They also asked a

friend who was something of an artist to give him some help in using his paints and pencils.

“What have you done to that boy? How he has changed,—I should hardly have known him for the same boy,” exclaimed a friend who had not seen him for several months.

“Given him something to live for. Put ‘do’ in place of ‘don’t,’ that’s all,” was the laughing answer.

Besides stringing beads the little ones greatly enjoyed stringing straws and coloured papers. Mrs. Brown gave them first red papers, then blue, then yellow, and so on, for she wished them to gain clear impressions of colour. The interest in this work was heightened by the suggestion that the chains be used to decorate the nursery, and great was their joy as the

chains grew longer and longer. Short threads were given them, and each as it was finished joined to the last, so that, to their eyes at any rate, the room became more and more beautiful. What a pity that a child should ever be allowed to consider himself too small to do anything to help and bless the world; that the desire to help, to be one with others by sharing in the work of the home, which awakens so early in the child-heart, should be crushed by the failure to supply the means for giving it expression!

How ruthlessly we often nip off the tiny buds as they appear in the life of the little human plant and then how we deplore the lack of the full-grown flower in later life!

How the self-respect of these children grew as they felt that they were doing something really useful! Jamie's part was

to fold and cut the papers for the little ones to string, though he sometimes also took a hand in the stringing, Mrs. Brown seeing here an opportunity to awaken and develop a desire to help the smaller and weaker.

Meanwhile the one caterpillar had had many brothers brought in to keep him company till the shoe-box had been outgrown and Uncle had shown Jamie how to make a caterpillar-cage by nailing uprights of wood in the four corners of a soap-box and then stretching mosquito netting over it. The bottom of the cage was covered with a layer of earth kept moist, and the caterpillars bountifully supplied with fresh leaves each day. Many other insects were discovered by bright eyes and placed in the cage that they might be watched.

Mr. Brown felt that this early develop-

ment of a love for, and an interest in all of God's creatures, together with a feeling of responsibility towards them was a most important part of education; that a knowledge of these lower forms of life was a necessary step in learning to know ourselves and the Creator in whose image we are made.

Jamie was very anxious to catch some butterflies, but when it was explained to him that it was almost impossible to touch their delicate bodies, however careful one might be, without injuring them, he was content to watch them without gaining possession, learning there-by one of life's deepest lessons.

The interest in the life of caterpillars and butterflies lasted for a long time, for the caterpillars in the cage were obliging enough to spin a number of cocoons, and it

was a common sight in the Brown household at that time to find Uncle and the three children crawling about the floor as caterpillars, then going to sleep and waking up butterflies, while Auntie with Robert on her knee sang the song, often at the same time playing that his hands were the caterpillar or butterfly. The beautiful story of the caterpillar in Miss Harrison's book, "In Storyland," was told and retold, Aunt and Uncle feeling that this symbolic play would greatly enrich the lives of the children.

"Indeed," said Mr. Brown one evening as he took up the book, "I fail to see how any one can be too old or too wise to gain fresh inspiration from such books."

Watching the children from Robert up, as they played with the type forms of the First and Second Gifts and noting their

interest in finding objects like them, Mrs. Brown was struck with their power to awaken and develop observation, the children seeming to be daily more observant, more alive in every way.

She realized, however, that taking in from without is but one side of education, that there must be continual giving out, "uttering or outering of the inner," if development is to be complete and harmonious. With this thought in mind she began a search for clay with which to model.

A friend told her that she could have it dug from the ground near by, but advised her to send to a Kindergarten store and get some specially prepared for the purpose. She did so and received in reply a package of clay flour with directions for preparing it for use.

A crock of clay was therefore added to her nursery equipment and supplied many happy hours of work and play, even baby Robert taking pleasure in squeezing, patting and rolling a lump.

Many and wonderful were the creations which those young brains evolved from the clay, there seemed literally no end to its possibilities. Every object they had ever seen or thought about took form and body as their hands became more and more skilful, while the growing light in their eyes and the joy in their faces, as well as their own feelings when they, too, took a lump and "talked" with it, helped Mr. and Mrs. Brown to enter more fully into Froebel's words in the Education of Man: "The spirit of God hovered over chaos and moved it, and stones and plants, beasts and man took form and separate being and life.

God created man in his own image; therefore man should create and bring forth like God.

“ His spirit, the spirit of man, should hover over the shapeless and move it that it may take shape and form, a distinct being and life of its own. This is the high meaning, the deep significance, the great purpose of work and industry, of productive and creative activity. We become truly Godlike in diligence and industry, in working and doing, which are accompanied by the clear perception or even by the vaguest feeling that thereby we represent the inner in the outer; that we give body to spirit and form to thought; that we render visible the invisible; that we impart an outward, finite, transient being to life in the spirit.”

Another occupation which the children

greatly enjoyed was pasting squares, circles and triangles of coloured paper to form borders and designs. After they had grasped the under-lying law of design, i. e. that the opposites must be alike, and had learned to follow this law by beginning with a centre and pasting something first at the back, then at the front, then at the right and left, they became very skilful in originating designs, the best of which were used as a border along one side of their playroom.

Jamie became quite expert too in cutting forms from paper. Beginning with the circle, or picture of their balls, he proceeded to fruit, vegetables and different kinds of leaves, learning in this way the names and special characteristics of each, finally attempting birds, animals and even landscapes. These he carefully pasted

into what he called his scrap-book, a school note-book with a bright cover. This book when completed was to be sent to mother as a birthday present.

They also sewed pictures of their balls and toys, in fact of everything which specially interested them, on cards with coloured wool and sent them to mother that she might share in all their pleasures.

This constant outpicturing of their inner unfolding life was a great source of growth, and of understanding both of themselves and of the external world, for as Froebel says, "If man would know himself truly he must represent himself externally, must place himself over against himself as it were."

It was very interesting to their Aunt and Uncle to notice how more and more each child's productions showed his indi-

viduality both in the subjects chosen for representation and in the manner of expression. Though sharing a common life no two were affected in exactly the same way; one passed by almost unnoticed what challenged the interest of another. By this means also they learned to understand the special needs of each and were able more wisely to guide and help the children.

“ Only the quiet secluded sanctuary of the home can give back to us the welfare of mankind. In the foundation of every new family the Heavenly Father eternally working the welfare of the human race, speaks to man through the heaven he has opened in the heart of its founders. With the foundation of every new family there is issued to mankind and to each individual human being the call to represent humanity in pure development to represent man in his ideal purity.” — FROEBEL.

CHAPTER II

PLAY WITH THE LIMBS

Mrs. Brown's great desire for her child was that he might be as free as possible from anything which would limit or dwarf his unfolding life. With this ideal in view she took great care that his clothing should at all times protect his body without binding it or in any way interfering with his movements. Her first consideration in dressing him was his comfort.

Her study of Froebel had led her to see that her baby's stretching and kicking after his morning bath was an unconscious call to her mother-heart "to nurture, wait

upon, strengthen and develop the life stirring within, and to do so in such a way as to lead him as soon as possible to self-



knowledge." She therefore planned to give him every day an opportunity to freely kick unimpeded by long skirts or tight napkin.

Laying him on his back on the bed she would place her hand or breast so that the little feet would kick against it and was surprised to find how much harder he kicked when he found this obstruction in his way than without it.

This daily kicking she knew would strengthen and develop his body, but her great longing was that all sides of his nature, his mind and heart as well as his body, should develop fully and freely, therefore she was never satisfied with any exercise that developed body alone, so to the action she added the explanatory song.

“Up and down, and in and out,
Toss the little limbs about;
Kick the pretty dimpled feet —
That’s the way to grow, my sweet!

This way and that,
With a pat-a-pat-pat,
With one, two, three,
For each little knee.

“By and by in work and play,
They’ll be busy all the day;
Wading in the water clear,
Running swift for mother dear.
So this way and that,
With a pat-a-pat-pat,
And one, two, three,
For each little knee.”

As given in the Blow translation of Froebel’s Mother Play, realizing that long before he could understand the words the love expressed in her voice and the thought in her mind were making an impression on the awakening mind and heart of her child. To vary the game she sometimes took hold of the little legs as he threw them out and gave them a little

push as he drew them back, as suggested by Mrs. Proudfoot in "A Year with the Mother-Play."

Before very long Robert could play the game by himself if a pillow were placed at the foot of the crib for him to kick against, leaving Mother free to tidy the room or attend to other duties as she sang.

A little later the noise made by kicking a newspaper spread over the pillow gave him great pleasure, while one thrown entirely over him as he lay on the bed or floor drew out much vigorous tossing of arms and legs and gurgles of delight when he succeeded in freeing himself from it, and again saw Mother's smiling face and heard the words of encouragement with which she was always so ready when he had put forth effort to overcome.

Meditating on the effort made even in baby-hood to overcome difficulties and the evident joy in achievement, she was led to understand the pleasure of boys in wrestling, climbing, running races and so forth, and to feel how necessary such activity was in the development of a strong, hardy, self-reliant character as well as in bodily growth, and what a mistake we make in forbidding or attempting to restrain such activity.

An effort was being made at that time to fit up the school play-grounds with gymnastic apparatus for both boys and girls, and also to have them open on Saturdays and through the summer vacation with a competent person in charge, and to these schemes Mr. Brown now gladly gave his time and thought, wondering how he had ever been indifferent to these

matters which now seemed of such great importance.

At a meeting called to discuss the using of school funds for this purpose, at which the opposition party was very strong, such inspiration was awakened through the reading by him of part of the chapter on "Play as an Educational Factor" in Mr. Hughes' "Froebel's Educational Laws for all Teachers," that not only was the motion carried, but many parents and teachers were led to read this splendid educational work, to the great benefit not only of their children but of themselves, and the few who had long been working for a truer system of education felt that the new day was indeed dawning.

When the little cousins joined the Brown family they were greatly inter-

ested in this game of Baby's and loved to help him play it.

Mrs. Brown showed them the picture which accompanies the song in the Mother Play book, and was greatly interested in their many questions about it. The first thing they noticed was the Mother playing with her baby just as Auntie played with Robert, and they were intensely interested when it was explained to them that this was a little German baby, for a dear friend had gone some time before to Germany and had sent them from there some beautiful post-cards, and that his mother was playing that baby's feet were stamping oil out of poppies for the lamp which burned for him at night just as the big wheels did in the mills of that country.

They became so interested in the children playing with the toy water-wheel in

the picture that Uncle was called upon to assist in making one like it, and a happy afternoon was spent playing with it in a little stream on a hill near by.

Mr. and Mrs. Brown gained much help from this game in guiding and training their little brood, and the commentaries written thereon. It showed them so plainly the danger of allowing children's activity to expend itself in aimless, impulsive actions instead of guiding it into proper channels, as well as that of attempting to repress it. They saw that a child must be active if he is to develop normally, but that he is not wise enough to guide this tremendous force unaided; that instead of simply saying "stop" or "be quiet" when his activity is leading him in wrong directions we should turn it into new and better channels.

Miss Blow's "Letters to a Mother" fell in their way about this time and opened up to them a whole new world of insight into the meaning of life and broadened and deepened their lives in a wonderful way.

"Oh, that all parents could be led to study and understand these truths!" exclaimed Mrs. Brown more than once.

The chapter in this book dealing with the "Kicking Song," or "Play with the Limbs," and bearing the significant title "Self Making," with its inspiring message, "The characteristic quality of humanity is precisely the ability to overcome defect," and "Our conscious and voluntary lives are merely island peaks rising out of an unconscious ocean of being," stirred them deeply and was read and re-read many times.

Nursie's plan with the children had been to make everything easy for them and to excuse faults on the ground that one was naturally discontented, another nervous or excitable and so on. She knew nothing of the bracing theory that man is in this world on purpose to overcome defect and rise to ever higher and higher ground, and that there is no other source of true joy than that of overcoming, and therefore she tried "to shield the children rather than to arm them," and the poor children suffered in consequence.

For alas, like many children, they were practically motherless, for she who bore them was so taken up with interests outside the home that she was in truth a stranger to her children's real lives, though she would have much resented such an accusation!

She always meant to have more time for the children by and by, and like many persons made the mistake of thinking that the first years were not very important except for physical growth, and that good schools and teachers later on would make up for anything missed in early life.

Thank God, this all too prevalent supposition is fast losing ground, and more and more the world is coming to realize, what the sages of all times have taught, namely the tremendous importance of the first years!

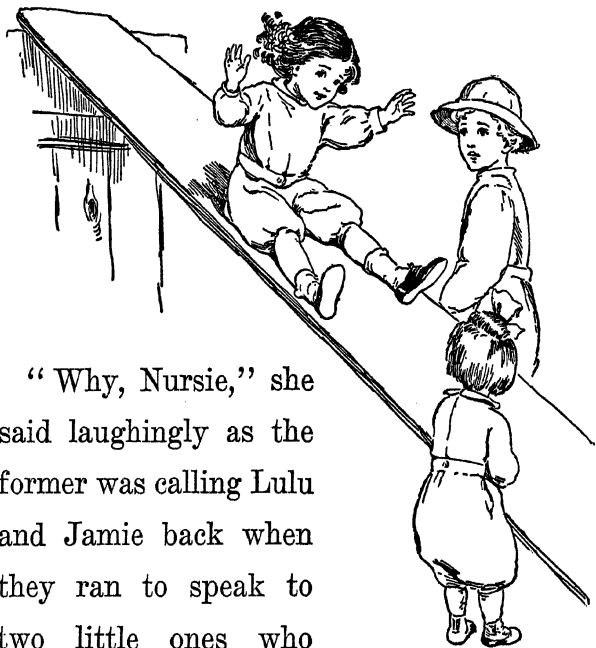
For too long have we imagined that anyone could lay the foundation, provided an artist could be secured to put on the finishing touches, and so ignorant nursemaids have been allowed to answer as best they could the first questioning of the soul as it finds itself in this new and

untried world, and young, inexperienced teachers have been placed in charge of the primary grades in our schools!

While little Robert was given exercise for mind, body and heart by means of games with his limbs and with his balls, accompanied by caressing words, songs and smiles, the older children were helped to gain theirs by much play and work both indoors and out.

The yard with its big swing, its see-saw, its trees and ladders to climb, its sliding-board (a wide board inclined against the wall, up which the children ran and then slid down), its bats and balls, sand-pile and garden-beds, was such an attractive place, so full of life and activity, joyous shouts and laughter, that other children in the neighbourhood soon found their way to the gate and looked longingly in.

Nursie would have sent them away, but Mrs. Brown's heart was too large and her sense of brotherhood too keen, to shut out any child.



“Why, Nursie,” she said laughingly as the former was calling Lulu and Jamie back when they ran to speak to two little ones who were peeping in, “I thought I overheard you telling the children the story of the good Samaritan just this morning, and

impressing upon them the principle of neighbourliness; they are only seizing the first opportunity of carrying out your teaching, — don't stop them," and going to the gate she invited the little ones in.

Later on she explained, " I don't intend to throw our children indiscriminately amongst all the children of the neighbourhood; I have made the agreement that no child shall come in unless you or I invite him, so they will only be here while one of us is present when no harm can be done. Our children need more companionship, and while providing it we may be enabled to help some other little soul, which we must not refuse to do when the opportunity is given us. I never could understand how children could be brought up as Christians and at the same time

debarred from friendly intercourse with the children about them.

“My one regret is that we have no Kindergarten where all the children could meet daily under the wise supervision of a trained kindergartner.

“Jamie especially is craving more free companionship with boys of his own age and we must provide it.”

So instead of four children there were more often to be found a score or so of little ones at play in the yard, or, in bad weather, the big playroom upstairs, and out of this small beginning there grew in the course of the next few years a Kindergarten, Primary School and Training Class which were the pride of the neighbourhood.

It was some little time before Nursie could be quite reconciled to occasional

bruises, scratches and cuts on the little bodies which she had so carefully guarded, but both Mr. and Mrs. Brown felt that to learn to suffer small injuries without complaint was one of life's greatest lessons and a habit which could not be too early inculcated.

It was a proud moment for them when Jamie came sucking a cut finger and bravely keeping back the tears as he exclaimed, "I don't care if I did cut my finger, I made a boat anyhow."

"That's the stuff heroes are made of," said Mr. Brown in an undertone to his wife. It had taken months of encouraging and cheering on, with some laughing at, together with many stories of brave boys and men who were indifferent to suffering when they had some great object to achieve, to bring him to this point, for

when he came to them he was a veritable little coward, crying over the slightest bump or knock and ready to give up any scheme at the faintest suggestion of possible danger.

So when Lulu fell off the see-saw and scratched her knee, instead of fussing over her and telling her not to get on it again, her Aunt and Uncle would say, "Never mind, little girl, you're too big to cry, it will stop smarting just in a minute," and helping her on again would show her how to hold more tightly and watch more carefully.

It took much talking and a good deal of scheming and planning on Mrs. Brown's part to break Nursie of the habit of doing for the children instead of teaching them to do for themselves, thus making them

dependent slaves instead of developing self-reliance and self-reverence. She would rather pick up and put away for them than train them to do such things, but this Mrs. Brown would not allow, for she wished them early to feel a joyful sense of responsibility and power to accomplish.

Low shelves and hooks were arranged in the Nursery and the children expected to hang up their coats and hats and put away their toys. The doing of this was not made a burden but rather a joy by means of games, songs and stories. When beads and blocks were scattered on the floor Auntie would call for squirrels to gather nuts and fill their holes (boxes) and praise the one who was quickest and gathered the most, or changing the words

of the song "Merry Little Men" in the dearly loved Finger Play Book, to suit the circumstance, she would sing,—

"Oh! where are the merry, merry little men
To help me work to-day,
And where are the merry, merry little men
To put these toys away?"

Sometimes when there was reluctance to help on the part of some of the little men, the one who came first or did most would be surprised by an unexpected lump of sugar or other mark of approval.

The children were early trained to look upon their fingers as a little band of workers over which they had control, and as an aid to this were taught the fascinating Finger Songs of the Mother Play Book.

Mrs. Brown early discovered what a great aid music could be in controlling

and guiding the little ones. When clouds gathered as they would at times, and thunder began to roll and lightning to flash, a merry song or two quickly dispelled the storm and brought back the sunshine; the children went off willingly and happily to bed if Auntie or Uncle played a lively march for them to march upstairs to; when they found it difficult to settle down to proper order and quietness for meals Auntie would begin to sing and the children join in the verse:

“Softly, softly, softly,
We take our places at our meal
Softly, softly, softly,
As quiet children love to do,”

and the quiet tune would quickly bring order out of disorder without tears or feelings of resentment.

Tears sprang to Mrs. Brown's eyes when little May ran to her one day with a very red face and said, "Auntie, sing 'Dod (God) is Love,' 'cos me tocked (choked)," for she felt the little one was indeed learning all unconsciously where to find comfort and relief, and as she held the little form close to her with a whispered "God loves May," ere she sent her off to her play, she felt abundantly rewarded for the time and thought she had spent on these songs and plays.

Mr. and Mrs. Brown had been much impressed by the following thought given by Mr. Snider in his commentary on the Mother Play. "One of the great difficulties in the training of the child comes from the fact that he receives food, raiment and shelter and perhaps a great deal more without any effort on his part.

“A necessary donation, but it has a dangerous side; the child gets to thinking that he has a permanent right to such support. He has done nothing, has been taught to do nothing for what he obtains from his parents. Self-reliance is thus undermined by the domestic relation, unless the parent takes the means to counteract it at the start. Nay, the idea of getting something for nothing may become ingrained and lead to gambling, speculation and even crime; it may lead to theft, which is the shortest cut.”

They felt that here they had the key to unlock the problem of much of the selfishness, idleness and dishonesty in the world around us, and pondering deeply how to avoid this quagmire in training their young brood, they decided that no child was too young to have some task to per-

form each day for the good of the family, therefore instead of having a servant dust and keep in order the nursery the little ones worked with Auntie and Nursie to do this each day, and probably there was no part of the day more thoroughly enjoyed, for what small child does not love to dust, shine and rub as she sees grown people doing. Tiny brooms and dust-pans were amongst their most beloved possessions, and joy of joys, on Saturdays they were allowed to try their hands at washing windows and scrubbing shelves as well as to wash, hang out to dry and finally iron dolls' clothes, dusters and towels. Of course this made much more work than to have a servant do it, and occasional accidents in the way of spilled water and wet clothes were to be expected, but all this Mrs. Brown counted as nothing when

compared with the forming of habits of industry and helpfulness. She was also continually on the watch for other small



jobs which the children with a little help could perform. An occasional morning was spent in putting the yard in order, gathering up scraps of paper and dead leaves, sweeping the lawn and so on.

Sometimes on a cold, rainy fall afternoon Uncle would come home tired and wet to find a bright fire, his chair drawn up to it, his slippers toasting, Baby Robert performing his part by sitting solemnly on the rug tightly hugging the evening paper, and the joy that comes from unselfish effort for the comfort of others beaming in each face as the children exclaimed, "We did it. We did it. We tidied the room for you, too."

Jamie never forgot one unhappy evening when he had selfishly refused to leave his building and help in these joyful preparations, how while the others were sharing kisses, caresses and happy jokes he stood a little apart unable through his own act to make one of the happy circle, apparently for the moment forgotten by everyone; not one word was said about his

selfishness, but he never needed another lesson along that line.

Often Auntie would leave the group in the playroom or on the lawn and return with a big dish of peas to be shelled or radishes or celery to be carefully washed, and when some hours later they sat down to dinner it was with the happy feeling that each had done something to prepare the meal.

Nursie was directed to have all the basting threads left in new garments for the children to pull out, and Jamie was a proud boy, when, after many attempts he succeeded in sewing on buttons so they would stay.

Mrs. Brown was surprised when she set herself to look for them how many things there were that even the smallest child could do to help, and her heart rejoiced

as she found in what simple ways the lesson of "each for all and all for each" could be inculcated and a child helped from the beginning of life to realize that he is a member of a great whole, with a place to fill and a work to do for that whole, and she realized as never before how the failure to provide such daily experiences in childhood must result in selfishness and narrowness in later life.

"Each age has duties from whose performance it may not be released. Childhood forms no exception to this general law. Happy the child who is led, even though unconsciously, to act in accordance with its claims. Duties are not burdens but privileges. The path of duty leads to light and to all the blessings conferred by light. Therefore each normal

and healthy child gladly fulfils duties," says Froebel.

"The home is not a home nor the family a family unless each does his share," says another writer.

It is a false kindness to try to save from effort. "Our truest friend is not he who makes things easy for us, but he who makes us do our best."

That their children might daily grow stronger in body, in mind, and in character was the conscious aim which Mr. and Mrs. Brown kept ever before them, and to achieve this they were willing, nay glad, to give their lives, and in so doing they found, as every true teacher and parent does find, that "He that watereth shall be watered also himself."

*The Mother calls "Cuckoo!" to baby now,
But there shall come ere long another call,
Hidden, yet near,
And oh so soft and low,
The child must listen well if he would hear!*

*At first it seems a call from other where,
But, heeded well, it enters the child's soul,
A dweller meet;
And ever henceforth there
Mingles its mandates with his heart's life-beat.*
— FROEBEL.

CHAPTER III

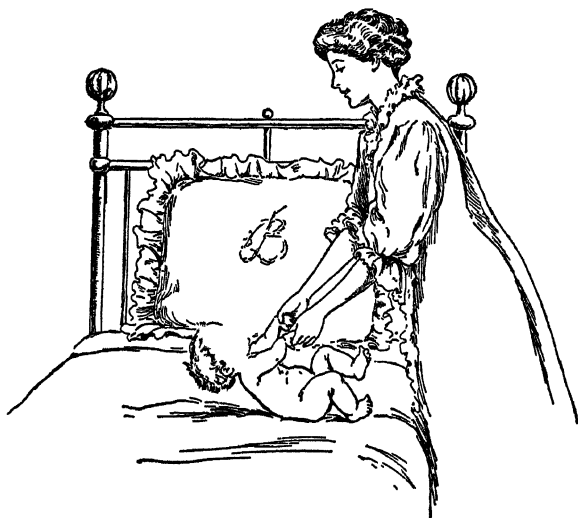
THE FALLING GAME

While little Robert was enjoying the Kicking Game described in the last chapter, he was also enjoying the Falling Game of the Mother Play Book.

As he lay on his back on the bed, or on a pillow placed on the table, his mother would put her hands beneath him and raise him to a half-sitting position, then withdrawing them would let him fall back on the bed or pillow, singing as she did so the song by Emilie Poulsson in the Blow edition:

“Down goes baby,
Mother’s pet;

Up comes baby,
 Laughing yet.
 Baby well may laugh at harm,
 While beneath is mother's arm.



“Down goes baby,
 Without fear,
 Up comes baby
 Gaily here,
 All is joy for baby while
 In the light of mother's smile.”

Or, she would raise him by taking hold of his hands, then quietly letting them slip from her own he would fall back upon the bed with a slight shock.

The first time or two this game was played, when baby felt himself slipping away from his mother his face showed a slight sense of fear, but mother's face was shining upon him and her loving voice reassuring him that all was well, so he soon smiled back and by and by greatly enjoyed this play, while the tone of Mrs. Brown's voice grew richer and deeper as she realized more and more that by means of such play her baby was learning to truly trust her, to feel that all was indeed well, "While beneath is mother's arm," for was he not finding through actual experience that he could safely trust both her wisdom and her

love? while at the same time the consciousness of his own inherent strength and power was awakening within him, as he dimly sensed the truth of his own individuality.

That they might so live day by day that he need never unlearn this lesson, never face the sad experience of finding that father and mother could not be fully, implicitly trusted, was the deepest longing of these parents.

More earnestly than ever before in their lives they longed to be sincere, for they felt that another soul was leaning on them, another soul looking to them to guide aright his first steps in this new, untried world, and from the depth of their hearts rose the prayer that they might themselves be all that they desired their son to be, for well they knew that

“living the life” was the only influence which would really tell in their dealings with their children.

“If you’d bind your little one to you,
Bind your own self to all that’s high and true
And let its light shine clear through all you do.”

So Mrs. Brown and Robert day after day played this Falling Game until, as he grew stronger and more confident, she was able to raise him higher and higher, and letting him fall back receive an answering smile of recognition that knit their hearts closer and closer together, though she kept always in mind Froebel’s admonition, “One must not wilfully go on with this or that play in opposition to the wish of the child, but always follow the child’s circumstances, requirements, and needs, and his own expressions of

life and activity," also that of Mr. Snider in his commentary, "This play, like every kind of play, can be carried to excess in various directions.

"The tossing can be so rough that the child is frightened, thus he is cowed and his growth towards independence is delayed rather than promoted. The limit is carefully marked in the song: the child must show his recovery by the smile, the smile of recognition, after the act of casting him off."

Pondering the thought that in such a game as this the child's faith is awakened, the parents were much interested in studying the definitions of faith given by various writers as well as in tracing the steps to be taken in developing it. Drummond thus defines it, "Faith is but an attitude, an empty hand for grasping an environing

presence," while Miss Blow speaks of it as "the active instinct of sonship and brotherhood," "an impulsive leap of the individual toward the universal spirit," "the electric line over which spiritual life is both communicated and discharged."

They were much impressed by the thought of Pestalozzi given in the words, "I must love men, trust them, thank them, obey them before I can rise to loving, thanking, trusting, obeying God. 'For he who loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how shall he love his Father in Heaven whom he hath not seen?' " and more deeply than ever they felt what a responsibility it is to be "A grown-up in a world of growing-ups."

Feeling with Miss Blow that "The nurture of childhood must be rooted and grounded in faith," and that "It is the

first and all important duty of the educator to win faith by deserving it," they wrote in large letters and placed upon the wall where their eyes would continually fall upon it the resolve, "We will say no word to our boy which we do not sincerely mean."

A homely phrase, but one which they felt contained much wisdom in dealing with a child.

In meditating on how to hold and keep their child's faith in themselves they felt that the one thing they must guard most carefully was that unruly member, the tongue.

Through contact with many different parents and children they were led to see that the root of disobedience lay very often in the habit of thoughtless, unmeaning words on the part of the former.

How often a parent refuses a child's request or gives a command without ever giving the subject a moment's earnest consideration!

How often the child early finds that the parents' yea is not yea, nor his nay, nay!

Is it an unusual sight to see a child forbidden to do a certain thing and, after some teasing, often alas! some kicking and screaming, allowed to do it?

Have you never looked on while a mother told her small child a half-dozen times to stop doing something while the child calmly went on to all appearance as deaf as a stone to his mother's voice?

If we really studied this question of obedience, if we took it as we ought to take every problem, into the closet, and laying the matter before Him to whom

all hearts are open, all desires known, then in the silence reverently and expectantly awaited the answer which assuredly would not be denied us, should we not find that the root of disobedience lies far more in ourselves than in our children!

Should we not have to face the truth that many of our commands and prohibitions spring not from earnest conviction on the subject, but simply from custom or from the impulse of the moment, and so the child early learns that our "no" can be easily changed into "yes" or safely ignored altogether!

Does not the boy who said, "Mother said I could not go, but I'll just keep still a day or two and then probably she will have forgotten what she said," or the little girl who remarked with a toss of

her curls, "Mother said she'd have some cherries for us when we got home, but I don't suppose she will, she's always saying she'll do things and then not doing them," give us an insight into the character of too many parents?

We don't mean to be untrue or to deceive our children, we have only fallen into the habit of saying something and forgetting the next moment what we did say, but alas! by such thoughtlessness many a little child's faith is undermined in the very beginning of life and the seeds of disobedience planted by our own hands.

Is it not a truism that the man or woman who really deserves the faith and confidence of his fellow-men, has it? And is it not equally true that the parent or teacher who in his daily life proves to the children that he is a strong rock, an an-

chor in which they can in time of necessity safely trust, will be respected and obeyed? A child naturally feels that he is in a world whose laws he does not fully understand and is glad to follow the guidance of one in whom he has implicit confidence.

A teacher once wrote to the correspondence editor of an educational paper asking for advice as to how to deal with pupils who persistently disobeyed him. The answer he received was, "If you are a new teacher you must have patience until you win the confidence of your pupils. If, however, you have been for some time in this school and are still disobeyed you had better choose some other position in life. You are a misfit in the schoolroom."

In the "Education of Man" Froebel

gives us the following pregnant sentences: "Between educator and pupil, between request and obedience, there should invisibly rule a third something, to which educator and pupil are equally subject. This third something is the right, the best, necessarily conditioned and expressed without arbitrariness in the circumstances. The calm recognition, the clear knowledge, and the serene cheerful obedience to the rule of this third something is the particular feature which should be constantly and clearly manifest in the bearing and conduct of the educator and teacher, and often firmly and sternly emphasized by him.

"The child, the pupil, has a very keen feeling, a very clear apprehension, and rarely fails to distinguish whether what the educator or the father says or re-

quests is personal or arbitrary or whether it is expressed by him as a general law and necessity. This obedience, this trustful yielding to an unchangeable third principle to which pupil and teacher are equally subject, should appear even in the smallest details of every demand of the educator and teacher.”

So while Mrs. Brown was striving to awaken and nourish little Robert’s faith in herself by such games and plays as this Falling Game, both she and her husband were earnestly striving to train themselves never to give a command or refuse a request, whether in word or action, for very many of the little child’s desires are made known by the latter means, without first weighing the matter. Having done this, they were sure of the ground upon which they stood and so

could speak with a quiet decision which in itself commanded obedience, and the children learning from the beginning that their word having gone forth neither tears or teasing could avail anything, these were almost unknown in the Brown family.

Of course they frequently failed to live up to this ideal, but they accepted Goldsmith's saying, "The true glory of life consists not in never falling, but in rising every time we fall." Mrs. Brown found herself sometimes saying, "Don't " first and then stopping to consider whether there was any real reason why the child should not do as he wished, instead of thinking before speaking, but knowing her weakness she persisted until she overcame it. She fully tested the advice she gave to mothers in after years,

“When the word ‘Don’t’ or ‘Stop’ is on your lips hold it back until you have put to yourself and answered the question, ‘Is there any real, sensible reason why the child should not do as he is doing?’ and you will be surprised to find how seldom you can give an affirmative answer.”

The children therefore had much freedom to follow their natural desires and inclinations, and when they were refused a request or given a command they accepted with the feeling that there was some good reason behind it, they instinctively felt and obeyed this invisible “Third something” to which he who gave the command was equally subject with them.

They realized “vaguely at first but clearer by and by” that their parents’

commands were founded, not on personal whim or prejudice, not, as a child often expresses it, "Because father or mother is cross, or tired, or busy," but because it was the right, the best thing to do under the circumstances, what they themselves would do if in the child's place.

Their parents were simply voicing for them a universal law, and so they obeyed without the feeling of being coerced by a stronger personality.

Do we not all instinctively follow the advice of one whom we feel knows more in any given line than we do?

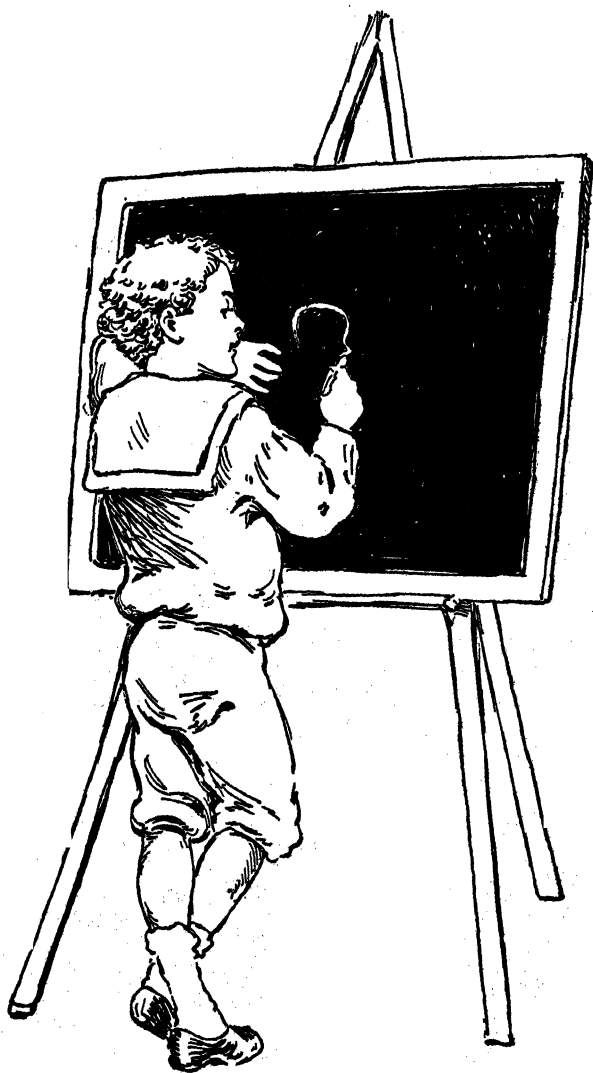
When the relation between parent and child is one of mutual trust and confidence, obedience follows as a natural result. Disobedience arises from a lack of perfect confidence — the confidence which every little child instinctively has in grown

persons, especially in his parents, but which, alas! is often so early destroyed because he finds us unworthy of trust.

Another educational principle which they found invaluable in their life with the little ones was that of changing the centre of interest when the child's activity was leading him in wrong or unwise directions.

Instead of scolding Jamie when he drew pictures on the wall, or the margin of books, they supplied him with an abundance of paper and pencils, and a blackboard, and then insisted that he should draw nowhere else.

Lulu's desire to investigate other people's drawers and boxes was overcome by giving her a drawer and boxes of her own, with treasures to keep in



them, and allowing no one to touch them without her permission, helping her thus to respect "the rights of property." Little May's fingers were kept so busy that she had no time to get into mischief.

Thus through being sympathetically, intelligently nurtured by those whose lives were founded, not on the sands of impulse and personal feeling, but on the strong rock of universal principle, the children daily grew in faith and love towards their fellow-men, thus taking firmly and securely the first step on the ladder set up from earth to heaven.

Like all parents and teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Brown were continually tried and tested by the young people around them, but so earnest and sincere were they, so anxious to live up to their responsibilities,

that though weighed in the balance they were not found wanting.

They, too, learned the lesson of the Falling Game, and though they often slipped and stumbled, their mistakes only made them take a firmer hold of themselves and realize the more fully that just as

“Baby well may laugh at harm
While beneath his mother’s arm,”

so they too could be happy and joyous as they remembered that “The eternal God is thy refuge and underneath are the everlasting arms.”

As the consciousness of mother’s love stirred the heart and brought forth the answering smile on little Robert’s face, so the ever-growing consciousness of the loving presence of “Him in whom we live

and move and have our being " brought strength and joy to his parents.

In explaining the Falling Game, Froebel tells us that the child must slip back with sufficient force to feel a slight shock. The mother, who is acting the part of Providence, is instructed, as it were, to push her child from her and to push him with such force that he shall feel the separation; but while separating him physically and helping him to a consciousness of the separation she binds him to her spiritually by her love expressed in song and smile as well as in the care she takes that he shall suffer no real harm.

But why thus separate her child from her? The mother who loves her child "not wisely but too well," who feels that her mission is to save him from every tear or trial, who, to use her own words,

“Loves her children so dearly that she cannot bear to see them shed a tear,” will not like this game or its teaching.

But the mother who realizes that for her child as for herself,

“Not enjoyment and not sorrow
Is the destined end or way,
But to act that each to-morrow,
Find us further than to-day,”

will see in this little game an opportunity to help her child towards a consciousness of himself as an individual separate from other individuals and from things, a consciousness which he must gain before he can enter upon his birthright and fulfil his destiny as a free, responsible being.

“The baby new to earth and sky,
What time his tender palm is prest
Against the circle of the breast
Has never thought that, ‘this is I.’

“ But as he grows he gathers much
And learns the use of ‘ I ’ and ‘ Me,’
And finds ‘ I am not what I see
And other than the things I touch.’

“ So rounds he to a separate mind
From whence clear memory may begin,
As through the frame that binds him in
His isolation grows defined,”

as Tennyson so beautifully puts it in
“ In Memoriam.”

Froebel's belief was that the groping soul may be much helped “ in rounding to a separate mind,” by games.

The little game of hiding baby's face behind a handkerchief, or on Mother's breast, then hailing its re-appearance with delight, which is played in almost every nursery, but which, because no deep meaning is recognized in it, is played only

occasionally and with little intelligence on the part of the grown-up participator, was a regular feature of nursery life in



the Browns' home, the parents realizing that the moment of separation with the joyful re-union was helping baby to "find himself."

“ Why does my little one laugh so, and crow
 With pretty exultant pride
 When I find him at last, after feigning long
 To look for him far and wide ?

“ Ah, well may a note of exulting be heard
 In the laugh of the sweet little elf !
 He triumphs not only because he is found,
 But because he is *finding himself*.

“ He feels that his being is something apart
 From the people and things that surround ;
 He knows what is meant when his name is called
 . out
 When he hides, that tis *he* must be found.

“ Play on, gentle mother, play on with thy child,
 But his deeper life never forget ;
 He has reached a new stage, with new need of thy
 care,
 To guard where new dangers beset.

“ With reverent love greet each wakening power,
 And turn its glad eyes to the light ;
 He hides now in sport, but he never will hide
 His opening soul from thy sight.”

Is the beautiful motto to one of the Hiding Games of the Mother Play Book.

The older children also spent many happy hours both out-doors and within playing hide and seek, Aunt and Uncle's hearty interest adding much to their joy. Little May dearly loved the Cuckoo game, in which she or one of the other children hid themselves from view and then revealed their hiding place by softly calling "Cuckoo." Often while Auntie sat sewing she would hide behind a door or curtain and Auntie would call "Cuckoo" and receive the same call in reply. Being hidden from view and yet able to communicate by voice seemed to give her intense pleasure, and she would keep as still as a mouse listening for the dear voice. Robert, too, soon enjoyed having his face hidden for a minute while he

listened. Thus were these little ones being prepared to listen for and obey the still, small voice within.

In all these games Mr. and Mrs. Brown were careful to avoid the danger pointed out by Froebel of the children learning to love concealment by making the chief joy of the game that of the happy reunion.

Kisses, hugs, smiles, happiness always greeted the child when after his few moments of separation he came again into view.

For as Miss Blow tells us in her book, "Symbolic Education," "In every attempt to apply practically the insight into estrangement and return, the important thing to remember is that alienation is always means to an end. The child who hides too long in play may do something

which will create a desire to hide in earnest.

“The boy whose adventures at school, in the field, on the playground, are not poured into his mother’s ears and interpreted by her sympathy will be led away from her instead of being drawn nearer to her by these alien experiences. The student may lose himself so completely in the past that he can never find himself in the present, the traveller may wander too long in foreign lands and thus kill his love of country. . . . Separation *for* union, estrangement *for* return, is the watchword of education, and the impetus through which individual life widens from a mere point to infinitude.”

So these parents held ever before them the two-fold purpose of helping each child to “find himself;” to know himself

a separate individual having his own life to lead, his own place to fill in the world, and at the same time drawing each one nearer and yet nearer to them and so to all humanity by the invisible bond of love.

Their rule with the children was never to do for them what they could with a little help and showing do for themselves, that the feeling of their own power, their own ability to accomplish might grow with their growth.

When little Robert dropped his playthings or sent them out of reach, they were not constantly picked up and given back to him, but he was carried to them and encouraged and helped to pick them up himself, while the older children were trained at any early age to dress and undress themselves and to feel pride in

being able to do so. In every way possible they were trained to do for themselves, to be self-reliant.

Little May was so happy when at last,



after many trials, she could button her own shoes, that for several days the button-hook was seldom out of her hands and her shoes were taken off and put on at intervals all through the day.

Nursie had the bad habit when she first came of blaming the articles about her for any little accident that occurred. When, for instance, Lulu running pell-mell through the hall bumped her head against the door, she would comfort her by saying, "Naughty door to hurt my pet, we will just whip it," and was greatly surprised when Mrs. Brown pointed out to her what a stumbling block she was placing in the child's way by teaching her to lay the blame on something external instead of seeking the cause in her own lack of care and self-control.

Her plan was, after kissing the bumped place and wiping away the tears, to show the child that the cause lay in her own hurry and thoughtlessness, and that the innocent door was rather to be pitied for being treated so roughly.

“Take care, little engineer, or your engine will run away with you,” was a warning often on her lips when the children showed signs of excitement or boisterousness, for she wished them early to learn the invaluable lesson that they could and must be master of their feelings; self control meaning to her control by the higher self.

Alas, as we look about us how many cases do we see where the engineer has given up his place as master, and allows his feelings, his passions, or his nerves to master him!

Many men and women seem never to have grasped to the slightest degree the thought of their power over circumstances, but weakly allow their boat to be tossed hither and thither by every passing breeze.

In order to develop in their children

the habit of cool, serene, quiet self-control so necessary in all true living, Mr. and Mrs. Brown strove in every way to avoid the rush and hurry with its consequent excitement, irritation and nervousness, so prevalent to-day.

So important did they consider a calm, quiet, restful atmosphere in the home, that they were willing to sacrifice many interests in order to gain it, for they felt the truth of Froebel's words, "Without collectedness the soul can neither strengthen or unfold her powers," and realized that rush and hurry were fatal to this spirit.

Although not teachers in the ordinary sense of the word, they took to themselves and applied in their daily lives the words of a writer to teachers: "But above all things the teacher must think, she must

be alone, she must deny herself many things for the work's sake — not waste her energies on idle stories, not be industrious in reading and idle in thought, nor expect to grow wise by merely appropriating the thoughts of others — she must seek for wisdom as for hidden treasure.”

“ If the chosen soul could never be alone,
In deep mid-silence, open-doored to God alone,
No greatness ever had been dreamed or done.
The nurse of full-grown souls is solitude.”

They planned as carefully for a daily hour of quiet communion as for the daily meals.

“ ’Tis not in seeking,
’Tis not in endless striving,
Thy quest is found.
Be still and listen ;

Be still and drink the quiet
Of all around.
Not for thy crying
Not for thy loud beseeching
Will peace draw near;
Rest with palm folded,
Rest with thine eyelids fallen,
Lo! Peace is here,"

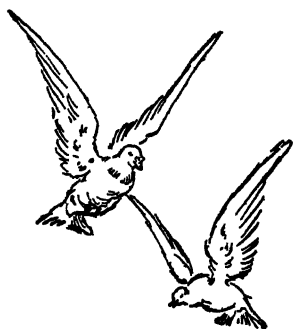
truly sings Edward Rowland.

In their study of ideal home life as pictured in Froebel's Mother Play Book one of the deepest impressions made upon the minds of Mr. and Mrs. Brown was that a true home could not be contained within the borders of four brick or wooden walls, but presupposed an environment of nature, and that an important part of this environment was animal life. So to the cat and dog who had been members of their household from the

first, they gradually added hens and chickens, rabbits and pigeons, and feeding and caring for these played an important part in the daily life of the children. "How can I nurture nurturers unless I provide some weaker life for them to nurture?" said Mrs. Brown. "How else can I help them to gain a conception of what Mr. Hughes calls the greatest of all truths, namely, that they have power to help other life to grow to grander life?"

This thought of education as a process of "nurturing nurturers" also helped her to a deeper realization of the important part which dolls play in the child's education.

Does not the real charm of the doll lie in the fact that to the imagination of the child it needs her help, it is cold or hun-



gry or sad and she can comfort and help it, and should we not carefully supply the young soul with all it needs to draw out and develop this God-like desire?

The children of course in their play imitated the life of their dumb companions. They were greatly interested in the Mother Play Game of the Pigeon House and dramatized it in a great variety of ways. Often chairs formed the Pigeon House and the children flew in and out, then were shut up safely for the night, but before going to sleep told with their soft "Coo-coo" all they had seen and done during the absence from home.

Mrs. Brown often called the children her pigeons, and as they started off for a walk with Nursie or Uncle, or to spend an hour or two with some of their little

friends, she would say, "Now, little pigeons, be sure you remember all you see and do to tell me on your return," and never would she allow herself to be too busy to hear all their little experiences, for she felt that the habit of telling mother everything was the very greatest safeguard a child could have and that no pains should be spared to establish and keep it up.

The motto of the Pigeon House Game pleased her very much.

"Glad out-going, sweet home-coming,
In this little game they see;
At the real home-comings, Mother,
Gather them about your knee;

"Ask them of each sight and happening,
In the quiet twilight hour,
Help them weave it all together
Like a garland flower to flower.

“With the years, the larger knowledge
Of life’s wholeness then will come,
And its twilight hour will find them
With themselves and God at home.”

Jamie was sometimes allowed to go with the other boys to sail boats in a stream near by, to fly kites, or gather nuts, for they felt that they must not clip the wings of their pigeons, but rather help them to gain the full, free use of them. Always after one of these excursions the little traveller found the home party eager to hear all about it.

Sometimes he returned with new impressions which, if he had had no one to freely and unreservedly open his mind to without fear of ridicule or reproof, might have been the beginning of undesirable lines of thought; but bringing his every experience and problem to the

sympathetic ear of Aunt and Uncle, he was set right upon many points that without such careful guidance might have started him off in wrong directions.

They did not often say much at the time, for they wished him above all things to feel no reserve in opening his unfolding heart and mind to them, but seeing a wrong tendency in its very beginning they were able, often quite unconsciously to the child, to direct his steps into the right path.

When the boys called for him to go with them Mrs. Brown would frequently invite them to stop at her house on their return and show her their treasures, for she wished to keep in close touch with his friends. On such occasions the boys were pretty sure to find apples, gingerbread or lemonade awaiting them and

to have such a merry time recounting their experiences, that they soon voted Jamie's Auntie "Awfully jolly," and having established such a reputation she was able on occasion to drop a hint about rude talk or behaviour and have it received and acted upon.

"To arm rather than to shield" was her constant watchword. It would not be long before Jamie must go every day to school where he would necessarily meet with new temptations or problems, and for this they wished to prepare him.

For Robert, too, she felt that

"Soon her arms must loose their hold,
Not, as now, in pretty play —
Keeping still their circle round him
That no jar or fright may wound him —
But for all the day.

“ And for this her thoughtful love
Must his little life prepare:
Teaching first how she is needed,
That through her fond cautions heeded
He may learn self-care.”

“He who would know the Creator must exercise his own creative power.” — FROEBEL.

“Play is the highest phase of child development, of human development at this period, for it is self-active representation of the inner, from inner necessity and impulse.” — FROEBEL.

“The child must reproduce with matter what he has received into himself from the external world in order to understand it.” — FROEBEL.

“Knowledge is food but creation is life and we live not to eat, but eat to live.” — SUSAN BLOW.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSTRUCTIVE FACULTY

“ The debasing illusion that man works, produces, creates only in order to preserve his body, in order to secure food, clothing and shelter, may have to be endured, but should not be diffused and propagated. Primarily and in truth man works only that his spiritual, divine essence may assume outward form, and that thus he may be enabled to recognize his own spiritual divine nature and the innermost being of God. Whatever food, clothing and shelter he obtains thereby comes to him as an insignificant surplus.

“ Therefore Jesus says, ‘ Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven,’ i. e. the realization

of the divine spirit in your life, and whatever else your finite life may require will be added unto you."

Mrs. Brown never forgot the first time she read these words in Froebel's "Education of Man." It was one stormy winter evening some months before Robert's birth when, Mr. Brown having gone to attend a church meeting, she was all alone.

So impressed was she with these words that she read and re-read them, then laid down the book and followed the train of thought they had awakened. "This has been the consciousness," she mused, "of all the great artists, musicians, writers and reformers of the world, but, oh, how far from this are the ideals and lives of the common people! How few young men for instance start upon their life-work

with any clear realization of this great truth!

“Does the education we give our sons and daughters send them out into the world full of the thought that there is a place for them to fill, a work for them to do for the good of the race, or does it send them out, the boy with a keen desire to make money, the girl to have a good, easy time?”

These words of Froebel came back to her many times as she watched the children at play and helped her to enter more fully into the meaning of Christ's words, “Except ye become as little children ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of Heaven,” for is not the whole of a child's free, spontaneous play the unconscious attempt on his part to put his inner world into outer manifestation, and does not

the desire to do so spring from his deep inner being, the deep unconscious sea surging within?

The human being has come into this world for no other purpose than that he may become conscious of his own real being and therefore of the Creator in whose image he is made.

The divine spark within begins to stir from the very beginning of the infant's life and urges the child to continual activity. But alas, how very few parents at the present day are filled with a feeling of reverence at the sight of the child's activity, and put forth earnest thought and effort to guide it aright! How few truly realize that there is an angel within their child striving for expression! How few study a child as "a struggling expression of an inner divine law!"

The child does not understand these inner feelings, and if those who should understand and be able to guide and help are as blind as he, have we not a case of the blind leading the blind and both falling into the ditch?

In years gone by the mother lived more with her children; she had fewer outside interests and she and they grew and solved many of life's problems together. For some years woman's life has been leading her away from home and children, but thank God, the pendulum is now swinging back, and mothers and those who look forward to motherhood are beginning to realize that there is a science of motherhood which is full of fascination for the motherly heart. Surely this is one of the greatest and most hopeful signs of the times.

Some of the greatest minds of the day are earnestly and scientifically studying the beginnings of intellectual and emotional life that we may know better how to deal with the young human being and avoid the sad dwarfing and stunting so common in infancy and childhood.

Such a scene as the following was often enacted in the Brown household: Lulu sitting on the floor utterly absorbed in the construction of some wonderful piece of architecture, only jumping up now and then to fetch a doll or some animal to complete the scene; presently the work is completed to her satisfaction and she calls upon Auntie and the other children to come and see what she has made. Then with dancing eyes, in which one who has eyes to see can trace a great depth of feeling, she explains that this is a house

where a little girl lives and this is the father just come home, and this the table laid for dinner, and so on. "Striving to



interpret the world by creating its image," thinks Mrs. Brown as she lays down her sewing and listens, asks questions and shows a genuine interest because she realizes something of what such sympathy

and recognition mean to the young artist in these her first attempts to out-picture the story in her mind, and how without it the soul may be crushed and so thrown back upon itself as never through a long life to fully recover.

“The joy of the artist is already his, what seems a crude and even absurd resemblance to us is enough to satisfy him, and woe betide the stale and withered soul that dares to laugh to scorn the creative impulse!

“It is far better that one should strike the child a blow on the head than risk stifling this divinely ordained utterance of the dim but awakening power of the young soul to reproduce or express the images from the world within. The majority of mankind struggle all through life from lack of power to outer or utter

their inner sentiments, dreams or ideals — beating like imprisoned birds against an iron cage, in which reserve, criticism or fear has shut them. Misunderstood souls are they—forever longing for recognition, forever losing the priceless privilege of enriching the world with their ideals, of strengthening it with their inner experiences,” writes Miss Harrison, of the child building with blocks in “The Kindergarten Building Gifts.”

Mrs. Brown felt that there were two things demanded of the Mother and educator, that she supply the young soul with an abundance of suitable material for the expression of his ideas and ideals, and that she ever treat his little productions with reverence and sympathy, and as she resumed her work after one of these numerous interruptions, which she

realized were after all the real work of her life, she meditated on "the deep meaning that oft lies hid in childish play."

She saw how by such play the power of concentration, so indispensable in all real living, is cultivated, and as carefully refrained from unnecessarily breaking into their train of thought as she would had they been artists drawing pictures or writers writing books. She would always give them warning some minutes before it was time to lay aside work for bed or outing, and she instructed the servants to ring a first bell for meals ten minutes before they were expected to sit down, that the wonderful castle, mud pie or picture which was being constructed might be completed, or left in a safe condition for future operations.

How cruelly is a little mother who is getting her dolly ready for bed or walk sometimes compelled to lay it down, cold and uncared for, at the call of an older person, and if she waits to cover it carefully before responding, told she is a naughty, disobedient little girl; good girls come the moment they are called!

Every such clash between the inner and the outer call weakens the child and builds a character which has no stability, no concentration, but changes its line of thought and action to suit every passing breeze. When the teacher later on complains that the boy or girl is lacking in power of attention, in concentration and perseverance, how few parents trace these weaknesses back to their own training in early childhood!

What is true obedience? When the

parent, following solely the impulse or whim of the moment, demands of the child that he do that which his inner guide, striving for his truest and fullest development urges him not to do, whom is the child to obey?

Have parents not reason to meditate earnestly on the last words of the command, “Children, obey your parents *in the Lord*,” and ask whether their commands or prohibitions are really of the Lord, or of their own small, petty selves, that is, whether they spring from universal principle, or from custom or habit founded on no true principle?

Again Mrs. Brown saw how active the little brain was in play, how the whole circle of mental activity was called vigorously into action as the child conceived an idea, planned how to express it with

the material at hand and then carried it to completion. Perception, conception and execution each playing its proper part, play is the truest form of self-activity. Nature guides the child aright, but how often parents and teachers instead of studying Nature's methods and co-operating with her imagine that they have found a better way and insist upon the child's walking in the narrow, narrow path, they have laid down; and in consequence we find few men or women who are in full possession of all their powers of mind and body, few who are truly happy. Is there a full-grown man or woman who does not realize that he or she might be much more than he is? Is it not a universal experience to realize as we grow older that there are sides of our characters which are almost wholly un-

developed? Do we not all wish as we look back upon our childhood and youth that our education had been a broader, more universal one, and feeling so does it not behoove us to be up and doing that the children of to-day may have less to regret in later life?

Is there a father who does not desire that his son may be a more truly successful man than he is? But wishing alone accomplishes nothing; like the little child we must carry our ideals into execution. Is not the weakest character the one who plans most and accomplishes least? Is not the failure to complete the circle of mental activity the great weakness of our schools to-day, so that we have a multitude of men and women, who like Kingsley's character, Mr. Leigh, "possess almost every gift except the gift of the

power to use them?" Are not our boys and girls spending hours upon hours memorizing facts, letting other people's thoughts run through their heads, with almost no opportunity of giving expression to the ideals which should be aroused by this study?

Most of our expressional work in school is limited to language which is but one and the most difficult of many forms of expression, with all of which the child should be familiar, that he may have many modes of expression, gain the all-round development which comes through using them, and at the same time discover in which he can best live out his own particular life and bless the world.

When manual training becomes, as it is to become, a necessary step in every subject of instruction, the terrible cramming

so common in school work to-day and so detrimental to the best intellectual development will be relegated to the dark ages, for the child must thoroughly assimilate the knowledge which he is to use in original expression. True manual training is not by any means the reproduction of set copies, but the expression in material form of the original conception of the producer.

So long as the schools strive to develop the receptive and reflective powers and leave the development of the executive powers, or "the powers which apply or use the knowledge gathered by the receptive powers and classified or made ready for use by the reflective powers," largely to chance circumstances, the full circle is not complete and the pupils consequently one-sided and unsatisfied. How full our

schools are of boys and girls longing for the time to come when they shall be released, studying not from a love of study, but painfully, from a sense of duty alone, the natural result of a system of education which ignores the keen desire to be doing, accomplishing, achieving, and treats the human being as if his one desire was knowledge for the sake of knowledge, while the truth remains that he is hungry for knowledge in order to live, to do.

But after all, the great benefit of all original expressional work is that by means of it the child learns to know himself. His work or play is the mirror in which he sees his own inner life reflected, and by studying this reflection he learns to know himself spiritually just as he learns to know his own face by seeing it reflected, he discovers his strong points, his best line for

work, and at the same time the weak places which he must strengthen.

It was interesting to watch Lulu's development along the line of carefulness and steadiness, for she was naturally inclined to rush at things without careful thought and preparation. Her first buildings were apt to topple over ere well begun. Jamie, on the other hand, was very careful and exact, perhaps inclined to be a little too anxious and careful, so that working together, they were a great help to one another,—Lulu learning that it paid in the end to plan well and work carefully, Jamie, that if he were too deliberate and careful Lulu would soon outstrip him and finish before he had well begun.

No words could ever have brought home to them the many lessons they learned through their own experiences.

To cultivate a habit of carefulness and exactness and also to give them a standard of measurement, Mrs. Brown covered a low table with oil-cloth lined in one-inch squares which she bought at a Kindergarten supply store. Being called upon to admire some piece of architecture she would commend the one built straight on the squares and also set up a new line of thought by setting them to discover whose tower was highest, or train longest; how many blocks were in the back of the chair, or how thick the wall was, thus giving them an insight into the use of numbers, a valuable preparation for future work in arithmetic,—a preparation the lack of which often makes this study such a bug-bear to both pupil and teacher, whereas it, like all study, should be a continual joy. Should not the satisfaction of mental hun-

ger be at least as great a pleasure as the satisfaction of physical hunger, and if it is not should we not carefully examine the food supplied as to whether it is the proper food for the stage at which the pupil has arrived and whether we are giving it in proper quantities?

This free expressional work gave Mrs. Brown many a peep into the inner workings of these young minds, and, as all mind is one, helped her to understand herself and all others, thus adding to her own happiness and also her power for good in the world, for is it not true that "all true joy is that of the spirit breaking its previous bounds?"

It also helped her at times to ward off a danger which threatened these little lives, as when for instance, on Jamie's return from a visit to a little friend whose un-

thinking friends had given him for a birthday present a box of soldiers with cannon



and other war implements, he spent a long time drawing and exulting over a bloody war scene; bringing it to share with her, she praised the execution, pointing out the

good points and drawing his attention to some errors, then having warmed the little heart by her sympathy she said, "But somehow war pictures make me feel very sad," and pointing to some lines which he had told her represented a soldier (one of the enemy) who had just been killed, she said, "Poor fellow, how sorry his wife and little children will be; no kind father to come home each evening and love and care for them. I would rather look at and make pictures of people who are loving and caring for one another." Jamie said nothing, but she afterwards saw the paper crumpled and torn in the waste-paper basket, and later on he showed her a picture of firemen saving the lives and home of a poor family, and as she commended it he said quietly, "I like it best, too."

“Why will Christian parents persist in awakening the savage delight in bloodshed in their young children by giving them such playthings,” said Mr. Brown when he heard of this incident. “Surely such things ought to be kept out of our nurseries as the first step towards eliminating them from the world.

“So long as parents encourage children to play war shall we have the reality. Of what use to teach love and brotherhood by words, while our actions, which speak much louder than our words, inculcate their opposites. The boy who spends hours playing with a toy pistol is apt to be ready as a man to use it on the slightest provocation, the imaginary enemies of childhood becoming the real enemies of later life. Should not the imaginary world in which the child so largely lives be filled with

friends, not enemies, with love, peace and goodwill instead of strife and enmity? ”

“ Oh, how earnestly we should all pray, help us to live more nearly as we pray! The great need of the world to-day is that our religion, instead of being so largely a matter of praying and singing hymns on one day of the week, should be the ruling motive of our every-day life,” replied Mrs. Brown.

Then, too, Mrs. Brown saw clearly that the way to prevent a habit of destruction was to help the child to construct. Shortly after her sister’s children came to her, Lulu one day got hold of a pair of scissors and cut holes in the nursery table-cloth. Nursie tied up the little hands, telling her she was a very naughty girl as she had been told never to touch scissors, though in her heart she blamed herself more than

the child, for she felt that, knowing she had got into similar mischief several times, she should have been more careful to keep the scissors out of her reach.

Mrs. Brown, however, looked at the matter through a different pair of spectacles.

Her study of childhood showed her that such a manifestation did not spring from a wrong motive, a desire to do wrong, as Nursie supposed, but from the natural desire for change-making, the first step in construction. She realized that without the desire in the human race to change the form of things there would be no progress from generation to generation, but that we should be living to-day just as our forefathers did. The child's desire was not wrong, it was simply working itself out in a wrong way because the right had not been provided and therefore the activity

should not be suppressed but led into the proper channels. To treat it as wrongdoing and try to prevent it was to sin against the whole race, for, encouraged and rightly directed, it would do its part later on to bless and raise humanity; crushed and restrained, it would not only injure the life of the individual but rob humanity of some of its power, even if it did not break out in later life in illegitimate ways, thus helping to poison the stream of life.

“Parents and teachers are making history; they are making or unmaking civilization; they are promoting or holding back the triumph of God’s kingdom upon the earth.” We need to connect our daily actions with the great whole of-life in order to view our work aright. We are a part of the great world energy, and working,

not only for our own family, but for the race.

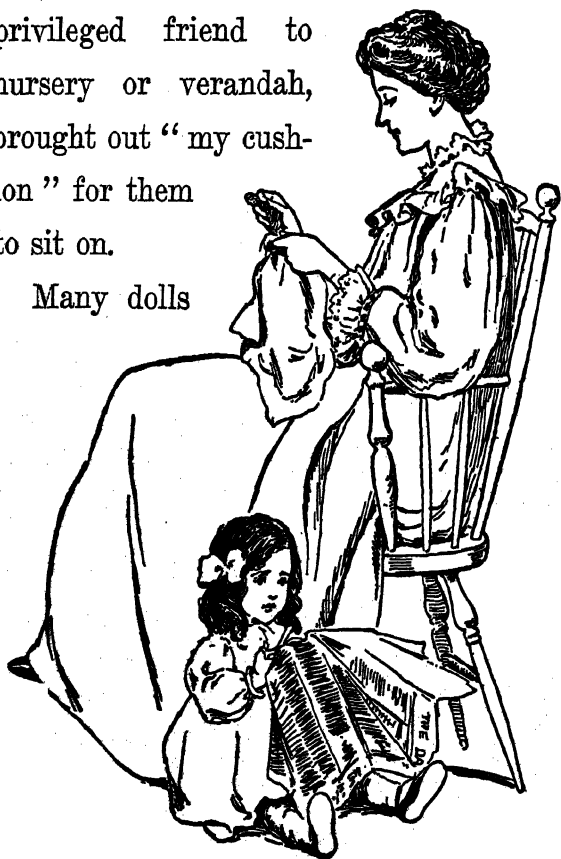
She said nothing, but a few days afterwards returned from a shopping expedition with three pairs of small, blunt-pointed scissors, and proceeded to help the children make many things with them.

Lulu's face was a picture to delight an artist when, a few days later, she found herself sitting on the floor at Auntie's feet with the long-coveted pair of scissors in her hands and a whole newspaper to cut up just as she pleased.

Simply cutting it into fragments satisfied her at first, but Mrs. Brown knew she must not let activity expend itself aimlessly, so she suggested that the pieces be cut very small and used to stuff a cushion, and stitching some turkey red cotton into a cover she gave it to her to fill. Many

happy half-hours were spent in this work, and it was a very proud little girl who, on the visit of some privileged friend to nursery or verandah, brought out "my cushion" for them to sit on.

Many dolls



took their naps upon this cushion and it eventually became the bed of the pet kitten. Thus was a little soul fed, encouraged and trained to be a useful member of society as well as helped to realize the joy that comes alone to those who use their activity to bless the world.

Cutting fringe to decorate dolls' clothes, the table cloth and the shelves of the toy case kept her busy for some time, coloured paper taking the place of newspaper as the fingers became more expert in handling the scissors.

From this she passed to cutting pictures from old papers and magazines, being led thus to examine them carefully and gain much information from them, till she was able by and by to cut very creditable leaves, flowers and fruit freehand, thus unconsciously training eye and hand for

future work. The best of these forms were saved and pasted in a scrap book, thus encouraging careful work and a desire to do one's best each time.

For a week before little May's birthday, Lulu with Auntie's help spent the time when the former was having her daily nap in cutting beautiful doilies and other decorations for the table on that eventful occasion, the possession of such a happy secret filling her little heart with joy and drawing her nearer to her little sister.

Another enjoyment was to fold squares of coloured paper into what the children called "Butterflies," which when cut gave a variety of forms to be pasted in a symmetrical figure.

Having supplied them with an abundance of paper, and scissors which it was safe for them to use, it was easy to teach

them that they must not cut other things. Only once did Lulu forget, and the tiny lock was no sooner severed from May's head than she was filled with regrets for her thoughtlessness and quite willing to agree to the suggestion that the scissors must go into a box and remain there until she could teach her fingers not to cut the wrong thing. A whole day without the beloved scissors was enough to teach her the lesson and at the same time give her an insight into the importance of, "A place and a time for everything."

“ Froebel taught that the true Christmas Tree for the child is the tree on which hang gifts made by the child for others. Too often children are made selfish at the time when of all the days in the year they should be trained to understand the joy of giving.”
— JAMES L. HUGHES.

*“ The child will miss the joy of living,
Unless he learns the joy of giving.”*

CHAPTER V

CHRISTMAS IN THE HOME

As the month of November neared its close Mrs. Brown began to make preparations for the Christmas festival.

Christmas had always been such a joy to her that she longed to have every child with whom she came in contact enter into its blessedness.

Many a time she had listened with amazement to such exclamations as, "Oh! I am so tired of Christmas!" or, "I am always glad when Christmas is over once more," for into such feelings she found it impossible to enter, although her Christmases were now counted by the tens, and

she would answer "Oh! I hope I shall never be too old to thoroughly enjoy Christmas."

Pondering this question she came to the conclusion that Christmas might be spent in such a way as to make it a weariness as the years went by instead of the constantly growing joy it was surely intended to be. Listening to various groups of children as from time to time they discussed the subject, she found that in the majority of cases their pleasure was connected almost entirely with the thought of getting, that the idea of Christmas as a special time for shedding abroad joy and happiness, of helping to make "Peace on earth, good-will to men," a practical reality for at least a few days during the year was an ideal of which they seemed almost unconscious.

As she looked back upon her own childhood and realized how her father and mother had helped her to enter into the real meaning of Christmas while she was still a child, a deep feeling of gratitude rose up in her heart and made her long to do the same for other children.

She remembered how weeks before Christmas she and her brothers and sisters began planning presents for each member of the family, how bits of work were carried to school to be worked on at recess, that mother's eye should not discover the wonderful secret.

Her heart still beat fast at the remembrance of work carefully hidden away in drawers and boxes to be taken out and worked at stealthily lest the eye of the one whom it was intended to surprise should see it before the eventful day; of heads

close together in the corner as they discussed putting their pennies together to buy some coveted object for father, mother or grandparent, and of the quick dispersion with nods and hints of secrecy, as the person whose present they were discussing came in sight. How important they felt and how hard they tried to look as if they had only been discussing the weather!

What shouts of joy there were when grandmamma carried off mother for the whole day and how fast their fingers flew as they made the most of the opportunity to work on her present! Very crude were those little presents, but, oh! how much love was worked into them as they watched them grow from day to day and pictured to themselves over and over again the happy moment when they could present them! How they ransacked the fash-

ion and home magazines for new ideas which they could carry out, and how patiently the older ones helped the younger!

“Come to my house to tea and bring your mother’s present to work on,” was a frequent invitation of one school-girl to another, and any one who learned a new stitch in knitting or wool work or came across a new design for lamp-mat, bookmark, or any of the few articles they were capable of producing, at once became teacher to a class of willing pupils. “May I go to Mary’s house, she is going to show me how to make so and so,” was a familiar request in a mother’s ears.

She laughed heartily as she recalled how for several years, when she was about six or seven years old, she had knit father a gay pair of garters a yard or so in length and of every possible and impossible hue,

for it was such fun to knit a little piece of one colour after another. Not for many years did she discover that gentlemen did not wear such garters, for they were always received with great pleasure and much admiration, with a smile at mother as he said, "I was thinking it was time I had a new pair of garters. How good of little daughter to remember father and put in all those stitches for him!" Little did he think that thirty years after a gray-haired woman would look back and with tears in her eyes thank him for the little deception.

He thought only that his little girl had patiently worked stitch by stitch at something which in her innocence she felt was a need she could supply, and he accepted the love which prompted it. It was always so hard she remembered to find anything

to make for father, and he always praised the made gift, however crude, so much more than the boughten one.

The candy store lost its patronage at this time of the year for every penny was needed for presents.

How eagerly the children watched for the first arrival of Christmas goods at the village shops and how quickly the announcement of their arrival would be followed by a row of noses flattened against the panes of the window!

She could still feel the ripple of excitement which passed over the schoolroom as it was whispered from one to another that Jennie Smith had come past Clarke's store and the clerks were opening big boxes that, of course, must contain Christmas goods!

How would those funny little shops that

had seemed to her then like a little bit out of Paradise look to her now, she wondered! Would anything ever again look so truly beautiful as those Christmas dolls with their cold china heads and painted hair! How one hoped almost against hope that one of them would fall to her share!

Then how fast one's heart beat as her eyes fell on an article which was just the thing for brother or sister, and how timidly she entered the shop and asked the price, thinking that perhaps it cost many dollars, and how delightful to find it could be secured for thirty cents, particularly if one already had twenty cents saved up and Grandma had promised ten more for carrying her the newspaper every day!

How eagerly they watched for small jobs by means of which a few pennies

could be earned, and how kind they thought father when he said they might sweep his office every Saturday and he would pay them for it!

They talked of and worked for Christmas during their waking hours, and dreamed of it all night.

Then came the happy Sunday afternoon when they were asked to remain after school and practise carols for Christmas. It always seemed to bring Christmas so near when they began once more to sing, "Peace on earth, good-will towards men," and "Hark! the herald angels sing!"

At last came the week before Christmas with the farmers bringing in trees and greens, the gathering in the church to make wreaths, stars, etc., and at home the stoning of raisins, washing of currants and chopping of candy-peel, in all of which, as

well as in dusting and decorating the house, the children had a share.

Father began creeping in with parcels peeping out of his coat pockets, when he and mother would disappear behind closed doors.

How they longed to know what was in those parcels and how they hugged themselves and one another as they whispered, "That parcel looked just like a doll. Oh, I hope it was!"

The most fascinating feeling of mystery was on every side. Big brother was hidden in the woodshed from whence issued the sound of hammer and saw — "Was it dolls' furniture, or a new sled?"

When they were hustled off to bed a full half-hour earlier than usual, a proceeding they would have warmly resented at other times, they made not a word of protest,

having a faint suspicion that it meant new dolls' clothes or other delightful things. And when at last the morning so eagerly looked forward to during the long, long year, really dawned and daylight found them joyously unpacking the stockings so carefully filled by Santa with the very things each most coveted, and they were at liberty to present to the other members of the family the gifts they had prepared, and to unburden their hearts of the many secrets they had so long held, — surely Heaven could provide no truer joy than was theirs.

Mrs. Brown had entirely forgotten the present and was living in the happy past, from which she was aroused by Mr. Brown's coming in from the meeting he had been attending. She laughed as she admitted she had been day-dreaming and

exclaimed, " Oh, Frank, we must help the children to enter into the real meaning of Christmas, it is too blessed an experience to lose out of one's life! "

Some little time before this, to the great joy of the children, Mrs. Gray had written that she hoped to be with them for Christmas.

Mrs. Brown's heart too had rejoiced at the different tone of her sister's letters as the months went by. She had written her very fully week by week of all the children were doing and of what she and Mr. Brown were trying to do for them, and the spark of true motherhood which had so long slumbered in Mrs. Gray's heart had at last struck fire and was being fanned into a strong, steady flame.

A few days later Mrs. Brown called the children around her and talked with them

about Christmas, asking them if they would not each like to make a present for mother.

To this they willingly agreed, although the younger ones had little idea what it meant.

They only knew that anything Auntie proposed was likely to be a true pleasure.

She had planned something which each one with a little help could do. Little May could string a long chain of straws and papers for mother to hang in her room, Lulu sew a flower on tinted cardboard and make it into a blotter, while Jamie with his coloured crayons could make a calendar representing the four seasons.

She wished each to make something which it would take many days, working a little at a time, to complete, that they

might absorb as much of the Christmas spirit as possible.

This work nicely under way she talked to each separately of what he could make for the others. Lulu with her help could cut out a family of paper dolls for May, Uncle would show Jamie how to whittle some tops and boats for the girls and baby Robert, May could pick out all the prettiest buttons in Auntie's button box and string them for a necklace for Lulu.

Nursie caught the spirit of it and had the children at certain times in her room working at some mystery which was not to be made known until Christmas.

A few days after they began this work, when they ran into their play room, or nursery, after breakfast they found hanging on the wall, low enough for all to see and for the little ones to kiss and love, a

beautiful Madonna and Child, or as the children called it, "The Mother and her



Baby," and over and over again they heard the story of the Christmas Baby, the Star,

and the Shepherds, till they knew it by heart. They drew and sewed pictures of the Shepherd's Crook and the Star, and represented with their blocks the stable and the manger till it all became very real to them and they loved it dearly. They also learned to sing very sweetly several simple Christmas carols that they might be able to tell Mother in this way all about it.

The week before Christmas the little presents were all finished and the last few days were devoted to making chains, stars, flags and other decorations for the tree which Uncle, Jamie and the gardener cut down on the hill near by, and set up in the play-room ready to be lit on Christmas Eve when Mother came.

The house was also decorated with green from top to bottom, the children sticking

in pieces wherever they thought they looked pretty.

One happy morning was spent by the children with Auntie and Nurse in a large toy shop. It was carefully explained to them beforehand that they would see many things they would like to have, but that these were for all the boys and girls in the city, so of course they could only have their share; each might choose one toy for herself and one for the little children of the kind woman who washed for them. Mrs. Brown felt it was not fair to take children to see so many things they would naturally like to possess without preparing them as far as possible to understand the situation.

In planning their own presents for the children Mr. and Mrs. Brown sought to get for each something which would be a real

joy and pleasure to him for a long time. For the little girls they got strong, durable, yet beautiful dolls which they could dress and undress to their heart's content, beds for them to sleep in and carriages in which to take them out.

Jamie had a long wished for box of tools, made for real use, with a quantity of wood soft enough for him to saw and cut, and the new red sled on which he had set his heart.

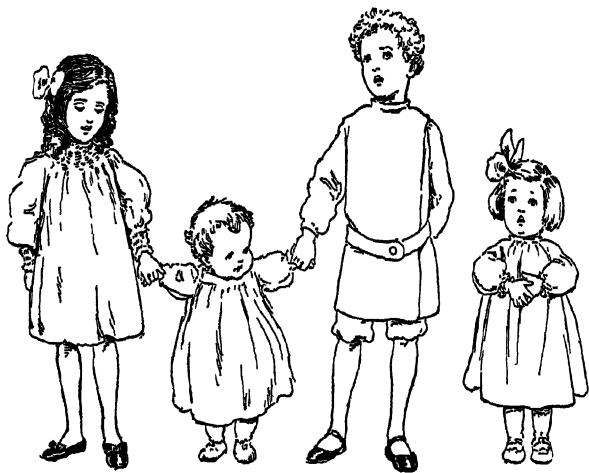
They also bought several beautiful picture books which were to be the common property of all.

Early on the morning of Christmas Eve the dear Mother arrived, and that was joy enough for one day. In the early evening, however, the tree was lit and the presents made by the children distributed, and what more beautiful sight is there in this world

than a Christmas Tree with its twinkling lights, surrounded by a bevy of happy children's faces! Little Robert clapped his tiny hands and crowed with delight, and the older children could only be beguiled to bed by the promise of having it lit again to-morrow evening. Even the anticipated visit of Santa Claus was for the time forgotten in the beauty of the tree and the joy of presenting to Mother, Aunt, Uncle, Nursie and Cook the gifts their little hands had so lovingly prepared.

When a few hours later Mother and Auntie stole about amongst the sleeping children, filling each little stocking with the treasures so dear to childish hearts, they paused for a moment beside each bed, together praying that the Christ-Child might indeed take possession of each little heart and reign there.

After breakfast Christmas morning the children gathered about the piano and sang their little carols, then sitting around the glowing Christmas fire amid the festive



Christmas greens all took part in telling the Christmas Story.

Later in the day Nursie went with them to carry the presents they had bought for the little children of their good washer-



woman, and also a basket of Christmas goodies to an old lady and gentleman who lived near by.

A couple of days after Christmas their little friends and playmates were invited to spend the afternoon with them, and what a truly happy time they had playing games, listening to music and stories, eating a simple dainty lunch around a table beautifully decorated with flowers and lighted candles, pulling bonbons, dancing around the lighted tree on which was a simple present for each, then just before going home sitting quietly singing carols and listening to the Christmas Story told simply enough to interest the youngest listener, while so beautifully as to fascinate the oldest.

“It is the most beautiful children’s party I have ever seen,” said one enthusi-

astic mother, and many others were ready to echo her words.

“ My children are usually sick after a party,” said another, “ but this can leave only the happiest memories.”

“ I want my children’s idea of a party to be something higher than an occasion for eating a great many good things,” replied Mrs. Brown. “ Well, you have certainly succeeded,” was the unanimous answer.

So without hurry, weariness or undue excitement the blessed Christmas season was lived through once more. A spirit of calm, serene happiness pervaded each day, making it a time of real soul-growth, such a time we trust as He whose birthday it is would have approved. Such a time as can be looked back upon in later years with real joy and gratitude, Mr. and Mrs.

Brown and Mrs. Gray finding time to read together some of the beautiful thoughts on Christmas given us by our great writers, as well as for much quiet talk.

“I never like to let Christmas go by without re-reading Dickens’ Christmas stories and imbibing anew their teaching. How he did love Christmas!” said Mrs. Brown.

After spending a few weeks in the Brown family Mrs. Gray was very loath to return with the children to their old home, and a house being vacant on the next street she was easily persuaded to rent it and move her belongings there.

Mr. and Mrs. Brown were very pleased at the prospect of having the children of whom they had grown so fond still near at hand, and as for the children — well, when Mrs. Brown told them that they were

going to live just around the corner from her and Uncle, Jamie looked at her for a moment as if he could hardly believe such good news, then rushed at her and almost strangled her with hugs as he exclaimed, " Oh! I'm so glad; I didn't want to leave you at all."

This arrangement suited all concerned, for as another little one would arrive at the Browns' home ere long Mrs. Brown was glad to have a little more leisure, and also glad that the children to whom she had been foster-mother would still be within easy reach and she might continue to watch over and assist in their development.

Finding that several of her mother-friends also expected soon to renew their motherhood, she suggested to them that they should meet at one another's homes

once a week and read together some of the many splendid books which were being written on the subject. This they gladly agreed to do.

The first book they took up was Mrs. Proudfoot's "A Mother's Ideals," of which a copy had been sent to one of them. Their plan at first was for one to read a paragraph or two, then for all to discuss it, but so interested did they soon become that each wished to possess the book, and after that they all read certain portions at home for discussion at the club. In this way they gained much more than if each had read the book alone.

They had been meeting thus for several weeks when one of them told of a young friend, a very bright, earnest girl, who expected to be married in the course of a few months, and who hearing of these little

gatherings for child-study begged to be allowed to study with them.

They were glad indeed to open their doors to her, for they each felt how much more they might have made of their family life had they studied these subjects before marriage.

They realized that "the call has come to-day as never before for mothers to work and study together."

“The real object of Froebel in the Mother-Play was to arouse the mother to a consciousness that she had in her hands the power to mould the ideal citizen, and through him to bring about the ideal social state. What crowned heads and legislators failed to do she might do, and when the grand co-operation of mother with mother might be established, in God’s good time, they would mould for us the new race, the pure interdependent brotherhood, and make the way ready for the ‘Christ that is to be.’” — ANDREA HOFER PROUDFOOT.

CHAPTER VI

A BOWL OF BREAD AND MILK

"All gone! the supper's gone!
White bread and milk so sweet,
For baby dear to eat.

All gone! the supper's gone!
Where did baby's supper go?
Tongue, you had a share I know.
Little mouth, with open lips,
Through your rosy gate it slips.
Little throat, you know full well
Where it went if you would tell.

Little hands, grow strong;
Little legs, grow long;
Little cheeks, grow red;
You have all been fed."

— EMILY HUNTINGDON MILLER.

So sang Mrs. Brown as she sat with Robert, who had just finished his supper



of bread and milk, on her knee; and as she sang, Robert with wide-open eyes solemnly showed each part of his body as it was mentioned, then jumped down and ran

around the room and back for the kiss which always ended this little game.

Being a strong, healthy child, and living so much out of doors and so actively, he was always ready for his meals, and when quite young would clap his hands at the sight of the familiar blue bowl out of which he was usually fed.

Mrs. Brown always fed him slowly, as she wished him to form this habit from the very beginning, and interspersed the mouthfuls with laughter and cheery words.

He so enjoyed his food that the sight of the empty bowl brought a look of disappointment and wonderment to his face as Mrs. Brown said, "No more this time, little man; it's all gone."

How thankful she was that her study of child-nature had taught her how to interpret the look on her child's face, this

shadow so tiny now, but which if not dispersed might grow into a heavy cloud which would darken his whole life!

She knew that this look of wonderment meant that the young soul was beginning to grapple with the great thought of the constant change everywhere about us, and that it was most important that he should be led, little by little, to solve aright this problem so perplexing to many minds.

A few minutes ago the bowl was full, now it was empty,—where had it gone? Who had taken it? Would it come back again? This was the unconscious questioning of the young soul.

To all appearance there was loss, destruction, and he was the destroyer; he had caused something which was not to be, but he had come into the world, not to destroy but to build, and he must be helped

to understand the part he was playing, to see that he had not really destroyed anything but only made it over into something else and something better. So Mrs. Brown would pinch the rosy cheek and say, "Here it is. Here is the bread and milk in these rosy cheeks," and putting him on the floor would say, "Now creep away, little man, the bread and milk has made you strong and active," till, little by little, he grasped the connection between the food he had eaten and his bodily health and strength, and so had his first lesson in temperance, namely, that, "We eat to live, not live to eat," so that when by and by he was refused more cake or candy with the words, "Only a little candy, now and then, for candy doesn't make as strong bodies as bread or potatoes," he was ready to acquiesce and deny himself the luxury,

thus taking the first step in mastering the body.

Mr. and Mrs. Brown were greatly helped by Mr. Snider's Commentary on the "All-Gone" song, especially enjoying the following thoughts.

"The child will not only eat, but when he has eaten he will know the meaning of eating; his appetite may be satisfied with his meal, but his soul is unsatisfied just with his body's satiety, till he finds out what this whole business of eating means. He soon perceives that when he has swallowed his porridge he has made something into nothing, but in this diabolic condition of destroyer he cannot rest. His act must be connected with its total process ere he can have peace, which comes when he sees the positive outcome. Thus the child gets a hint of the move-

ment which overcomes the vanishing and is more deeply satisfied by his knowledge than by his porridge, though he must have the porridge too, and have it first. . . . So Froebel will have the child begin, quite before he can talk, to have a presentiment of the whole, especially in matters immediately connected with him and coming under his observation. The child must have his little grapple with the vanishing at the very start of independent existence when he begins to take nourishment free of his mother's breast. He sees that which he eats disappearing: what does it mean? As before said he feels himself a destroyer and the destroyer pure and simple is the Devil; no wonder that the child feels uncomfortable; he wants to get out of such company, and the mother if she is wise will at once give him her

help. Alack-a-day! she may not be wise, she may not know what to do, and so leave the little fellow to struggle with the fiends all by himself. Still the child cannot do without this negative element of life; he has to pass through it in one form or another; the great point is, that he be not allowed to stick fast in it during the passage."

It always made Mrs. Brown feel very serious to read such things and think how without the help of such teachers she would have been totally unfit to guide her children safely through these dark mazes. She felt how little her college course had fitted her to be a true interpreter of life to the young souls who should look to her for guidance and direction during their early life, and she determined to work and pray for the coming of the time when an

earnest study of child nature, its needs and grand possibilities, should be a regular part of the school course for both boys and girls, the future parents of the race; when the profession of parenthood should require at least as careful preparation as that of law or medicine.

The thought of the thousands of young men and women who every year entered into marriage without the slightest preparation for parenthood, and the consequent dwarfed and twisted lives all about us, saddened her heart and stirred her to action, for she felt that woman must solve this problem, and by educating public opinion, woman alone could bring about a better state of affairs.

“If to make a dress properly, to keep a set of books, or teach a school demands thought and study, surely to guide a young

soul requires much more. If I desire to be a trained nurse, a stenographer, a dress-maker or milliner, I must go through a course of training, of apprenticeship, society demands it; how is it that this same society allows, nay almost forces me, to enter into motherhood without one hour's training for its duties," she would exclaim. "It is only by chance the books and help I needed fell in my way before I became a mother; the majority of mothers do not even know there are such books."

So while striving to feed little Robert's body and even more carefully his mind and soul, she stood with hands outstretched to other mothers that she might, if possible, help them to find the light she had found and which had so enriched her life.

Thus was this little soul led step by step to unravel the web of life, led to find everywhere the Positive overcoming the Negative and taught that while on the surface there was constant motion, constant change, it was only the outer form, the effect, which changed; underneath was the unchangeable Cause.

“ Know of a truth,” says Carlyle, “ that only the Time Shadows have perished or are perishable; that the real Being of whatever was and whatever is and whatever will be is even now and for ever . . . symbols, forms, must decay and vanish, while Truth weaves for herself new, higher forms of expression.”

When tears sprang to baby's eyes at the departure of father or playmate, mother would dry them by talking of and making plans for the return.

His look of disappointment when the candles went out one by one on the Christmas Tree he had so enjoyed was dispersed by the promise of seeing them again next year.

When the children watched the leaves fall from the trees in the fall Mrs. Brown helped them by means of stories, games and songs, to know winter as Nature's sleeping time and led their thoughts forward to the joyous new birth of spring.

She stirred their imaginations by helping them to play that they were caterpillars crawling about on the ground, then, after a time of rest, waking up, no longer caterpillars but glorious, free butterflies.

The little game of the birds flying South for the winter always ended with their flying back in the spring.

The ennui, or "all gone" feeling that sometimes creeps into a family when Christmas or birthday, around which their thoughts have been for some time closely centred, has gone by, she prevented by having some fresh interest, or new line of work, to suggest.

By many such experiences did Mr. and Mrs. Brown prepare the children to understand death when by and by it should come into their experience; to feel, as Phillips Brooks so beautifully puts it, that "Death is merely one of the events in life, not the end of life," and to believe with Froebel "that we most shall live when men shall call us dead."

Alas, how many children are allowed to look upon death as a dark, horrible abyss!

"Continuity of existence, without break

or interruption, is the fundamental idea that needs inculcation, not only among children but among ignorant people generally," says Sir Oliver Lodge.

The Picture illustrating the All-Gone song draws our attention to the fact that not only must we help the child to realize that the food he eats returns to him but that his deed returns also, that our characters are made by the thoughts we think, the deeds we do.

Lulu was particularly fond of this picture and would often sit quietly looking at it for some minutes, and asked Auntie over and over to tell her about it. She named the little girl Mary, and Mrs. Brown overheard her one day soliloquizing as she looked at the picture, "I'm sorry you lost your bird, Mary, but if you are good, I think your mother will get you another

and then you'll be more careful, won't you, and not leave the door open."

In order that the children might realize that the deed does indeed return upon the doer, that as a man sows so must he reap, Mr. and Mrs. Brown strove to make any punishment they found necessary the natural outcome of the deed done; when Robert was too rough with pussy he was deprived of her company; if he cried or fretted he was quietly taken from the room and his parents' society. Noisy or troublesome behaviour at the table resulted in the chair of the small offender being moved back until he was ready to behave nicely. When Jamie carelessly left his knife lying about until it was lost he had to get on as best he could with a blunt kitchen knife until he learned to take care of a better one. Naughtiness

on the street invariably resulted in one's being left at home next time.

Quiet action took the place of scolding, or fault finding, and was much more effective in immediate results as well as in habit-forming.

When Robert was old enough to enjoy a drink of milk his mother felt he should begin to find out to whom he was indebted for it, so she took him again and again to see the cows.

Sometimes he saw them being milked and had a taste of the fresh warm milk, again he saw them eating the grass or quietly chewing the cud in the grassy field, and still again eating hay in the barn. Then they went to see the hay mown and stored in the barn.

On these visits, when they were often accompanied by the Gray children, they

carried some apple or other dainty to feed the cows, and Robert was soon brave



enough to pat their backs and stroke their faces while Mother said, "Thank you,

good cow, for the nice milk you give us," or, "Eat away, good cows, and fill your bags full of milk; we shall want some for supper."

After that they never passed a cow without stopping to say, "Thank you," and Robert, of his own accord, for a long time never took a drink of milk without first thanking the cows for it.

Mrs. Brown tacked some good pictures of cows low on the nursery wall, and even before he could walk Robert would creep to them and, raising himself by a chair, pat and kiss them, saying as he did so, "Moo, Moo."

The picture and song of Grass Mowing in the Mother-Play was an endless source of interest to the children as they pointed out Peter mowing the grass, the wagon carrying it to the barn, Lena milking the

cow and making butter and the mother giving a cup of milk to the baby; or swung their arms in imitation of mowing.

May loved to move about on all fours, crying "Moo-moo," and eating imaginary grass, while she and Lulu both thought it great fun to represent milking, using the fingers of one hand for the teats which they milked with the other, then carrying the imaginary cup of milk to Robert to drink.

When through their own experiences in digging little flower-beds, planting seeds and helping plants to grow, they had learned something of the part sunshine and rain play in plant life, they learned many little hymns which helped them to feel their heavenly Father's love working in and through and by these things, and

were able to sing with understanding and joy before each meal,

“For the fruit upon the tree,
For the birds that sing of thee,
For the earth in beauty drest,
Father, Mother and the rest,
For thy precious, loving care,
For thy bounty everywhere,
Father in Heaven, we thank Thee,”

for they were beginning to realize something of the interdependence of all men as well as of man's dependence on Nature and Nature's God.

“If in childhood we give the ideal of interdependence the man will grow up to see his responsibilities,” says Mrs. Proudfoot.

Mr. and Mrs. Brown intended to bring up their children so that as men or women

they would feel that, "He who lives without doing his share is the only beggar, though he call himself rich."

In order to realize this aim they seized every opportunity to illustrate to them the solidarity of the race. When they were rejoicing in new dresses, or coats, they raised their joy from a merely sensual one to the spiritual plane by leading them through work and play, song and story which traced the process by means of which these things came to them, leading them thus to see that they were indebted not only to Father and Mother, but to many unknown workmen in shop and factory, to the sheep on the hillside, and to Him whose love is manifested in all these ways.

They were also helped to trace the process by means of which they had their

cake and bread. Baking day was always eagerly looked forward to, for each had a lump of dough to roll with his tiny rolling pin and bake in his little pans.

They were taken too to see the wheat growing in the fields and to a flour mill, while it was a never forgotten experience to crush a few grains of wheat between a cube and a sphere and thus make some "really" flour. Water-wheels were quite the fashion at this time and were constructed in many ways, sometimes of blocks or sticks, sometimes of chairs, but best of all, when they had a number of playmates, of the children themselves, four children standing in the centre with crossed hands forming the wheel, while the rest joined hands and made the stream which turned it. And as their little voices rang out,

“I’m small I know,
But wherever I go
The fields grow greener still,”

Auntie’s heart rejoiced as she remembered Froebel’s words, “The plays of childhood become the realities of later life,” and the prayer arose in her heart that of each of them it might indeed be true that wherever they went, “the field grew greener still.”

But well she knew that nothing in this world comes by chance, but that, on the contrary, all is cause and effect, so that if we desire a certain effect in manhood or womanhood we must set at work in childhood the causes which will in course of time produce that effect.

Neglect childhood, treat the first mental and spiritual outgoings as of little or no account, and it will be useless to look in

manhood for the full, ripe fruit. Childhood is the seeding time, maturity the harvest and

“Whatsoe’er the sowing be,
Reaping, we its fruit shall see.”

That the children might from the first know themselves one with all others, that the feeling of one-ness with all, of brotherhood, which lies in germ in every little soul, might not be crushed, but fed and nourished by daily experiences until it grew into a grand, glorious reality, making of all creation one united, loving family with one Father working in, and through, and by each, was her conscious aim.

She felt that by nourishing this feeling of unity by her daily life and conversation with the children as well as by the games,

songs, stories and pictures with which she surrounded them, she was giving the first lessons in true religion. They were not ready for abstract teaching, but must have great truths presented in symbols; they must be led in their own childish way "to live the life if they would know of the doctrine."

She felt the truth of the words of Phillips Brooks, "While men believe in the possibilities of children being religious, they are largely failing to make them so, because they are offering them not a child's but a man's religion — man's forms of faith and man's forms of experience."

She loved to ponder Froebel's words: "This feeling of community first uniting the child with mother, father, brothers and sisters, and resting on a higher, spiritual

unity, to which later on is added the unmistakable discovery that father, mother, brothers, sisters, human beings in general, feel and know themselves to be in community and unity — with humanity, with God — this feeling of community is the very first germ, the very first beginning of all true religious spirit, of all genuine yearning in unhindered unification with the eternal, with God. Genuine and true, living religion, reliable in danger and struggles, in time of oppression and need, in joy and pleasure, must come to man in his infancy; for the Divine spirit that lives and is manifested in the finite, in man, has an early though dim feeling of its divine origin; and this vague sentiment, this exceedingly misty feeling should be fostered, strengthened, nurtured, and later on raised into full consciousness,

into clear apprehension. It is, therefore, not only a touching sight for the quiet and unseen observer, but productive of eternal blessings for the child, when the mother lays the sleeping infant upon his couch with an intensely loving, soulful look to their heavenly Father, praying Him for fatherly protection and loving care.

“Therefore the true mother is loath to let another put the sleeping child to bed, or take from it the awakened child.”

Along the same lines writes Miss Blow: “The one great difficulty in the way of carrying out Froebel’s ideal of religious development is our own lack of vital piety. It is easy to teach catechisms, it is not easy to awaken and foster faith, hope and love. Any mother may force her child to memorize men’s definitions of God, but

only one who has herself a filial spirit can teach him to know his heavenly Father. She whose own soul is dead may be a religious drill sergeant, but only the living spirit can communicate spiritual life."

Oh, how the world needs and hungers for vital religion, reliable in danger and struggles, in times of oppression and need, in joy and pleasure! What a poor, dead, unsatisfying thing is the religion of thousands who call themselves Christians! How little of real joy and inspiration they find in it! Is it not with too many an empty observance of forms and ceremonies having little or no vital connection with their daily life and aspiration? How meaningless to many are the words "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you," exclaimed Mrs. Brown after reading these words to her husband.

With the thought of developing the feeling of oneness with all as the first step in true religion, Mrs. Brown would stop as they passed a blacksmith's shop, that Robert might enjoy seeing the sparks fly from the red-hot iron, and say, "Good, kind blacksmiths to help make Robert's carriage," and when he grew older told him fascinating tales of the miners at work in the deep, dark mine. When they passed carpenters at work on a building, she would say, as they watched them, "Kind carpenters to make nice houses for little Roberts and Mays to live in," and encourage him to imitate hammering and sawing.

Sometimes they would play that Father was a tall tree and they were woodmen cutting it down to make firewood or supply the carpenter with boards; then how Robert would clap his hands and shout

as, after much vigorous chopping, the tree began to sway back and forth and presently fell to the ground.

Through such imaginary play they not only helped him to connect all things about him with one another but peopled the great unknown world with friends and helpers, not as is so often thoughtlessly done, with dangers, enemies and fear.

When the children grew older a favourite subject of conversation at meal time was to trace the different articles of food through the process of their production or manufacture. By this means much valuable information was gathered, but better still, the habit of logical thinking, of tracing effects back to their causes, was engendered, and feelings of love and good-will to men awakened.

“Nothing,” says Froebel, “is more dangerous to the health of the intellect, nothing is more prejudicial to the culture of the heart, than the habit of looking at particular objects and events in detachment from the great whole of life.”

“May not the child receive even in babyhood a prejudice in favour of the universal life, and from the beginning of his conscious career live in the clear sunlight and fresh air of the generic ideal, instead of being shut up in the prison walls of his own atomic individuality?” asks Miss Blow.

Mrs. Brown found, too, that these efforts to help her children feel that all men are brothers, the children of one Father working together, consciously or unconsciously, for the good of the race, aroused and strengthened her own feeling

of fellowship and gave her a more real, genuine love towards all.

In many ways both she and her husband felt their own lives broadening and deepening; theories which had been hardly more than theories became actualities as they strove to make their lives fit copies for their little son. God in giving them a little child to train was training them.

They proved the truth of the teaching that it is only by becoming as little children that we can enter the Kingdom of Heaven. By truly living with their children, that is, learning to see as they see, hear as they hear and feel as they feel, they were led back to the paths of simplicity and truth where alone peace is to be found. How often parents lose this great blessing because they fail to

reverently study God's thought as expressed in their child!

How truly Froebel says: "As we help your young souls to expand, our own, in the sweet task, shall grow toward heaven."

*“ Dear little children, we will learn from you,
Gardens we’ll make, and you the flowers shall be,
Our care shall seem no tedious drudgery —
Only a happy trust that’s ever new.*

*“ We’ll guard you from the great world’s strife and
din;
But, ah, our chiefest, gladdest care shall be
To give you your own selves! to help you see
The meaning of each opening power within.*

*“ Oh, blessed thought, that God to us has given
The finishing of that which he has planned;
And as we help your young souls to expand,
Our own, in the sweet task, shall grow toward
heaven.”*

— FROEBEL.

CHAPTER VII

THE MIRROR OF NATURE

Mr. and Mrs. Brown never lost sight of the truth that the ultimate aim of education was that the individual might find himself, was self-knowledge, and that this process began in the cradle and continued all through life. They knew also that self-knowledge grew by the two-fold means of reflection and introspection.

The mirrors in which man sees himself reflected and so comes to self-consciousness are his own actions, the actions of others, and Nature.

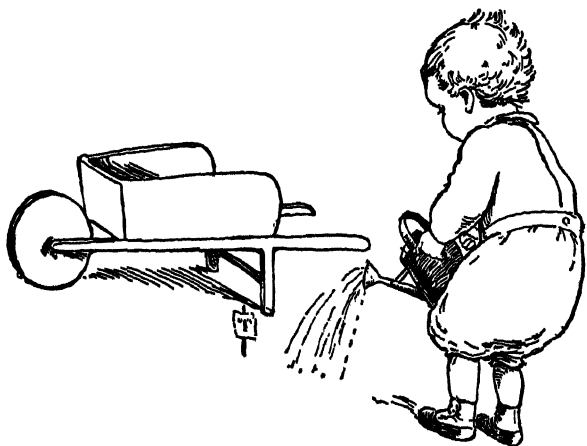
They therefore sought to supply their children with opportunities for many

sided activity, they planned much companionship with children at their own stage of development and had them live much with Nature.

In order that they might enjoy the society of children of different characters and dispositions, which is so important for their true unfolding, and might have it under wise and loving supervision, Mrs. Brown never rested until she had aroused sufficient interest in their neighbourhood to have a good Kindergarten established.

Looking into the Browns' yard during the spring and summer one might often find the children with small, gaily painted watering-cans, rakes, spades and wheelbarrows busy gardening, for each child had from babyhood his own little garden in which he was encouraged, year after year, to grow both flowers and vegetables,

their parents feeling with Prof. Hodge, "To allow a child to grow up without planting a seed or rearing a plant is a crime against civilized society. . . . The



child that puts forth creative effort to make the world better, the child that plants a seed or cares for the life of an animal, is working hand in hand with Nature and the Creator, and what higher religious development can we desire than

that he become the reflected image of God! . . . In a child that has never reared anything of its own there is little or no foundation upon which to build regard for the rights of others in these respects.”

So in this sunny garden summer after summer was enacted Froebel's picture in the Mother-Play:

“ In the sunlit garden,
Through the glad spring day,
Watch the happy little folks
Turning work to play.

“ Guarding, watering, tending,
With such pretty zeal,
Doing from their little hearts
As if the flowers could feel.

“ Such work does not tire them,
For they love it so;
And are thanked in measure full,
If the flowers grow.”

And how serious and reverent were the little faces as they looked at the tiny seeds in each of which Mother had told them a little fairy lay asleep that would, if they prepared a nice bed for it and put it carefully in, soon wake up!

How they watched day after day to see once again this miracle of Nature, and what joy filled their little hearts when the tiny plant appeared above ground and grew taller and taller till finally buds and flowers appeared to reward their toil and patience!

Were there ever such daisies and pansies as grew in those gardens and were plucked to adorn the breakfast table or carried as a birthday gift to some dear friend?

Then what joy to eat radishes and lettuce which one had himself grown!

When a rainy day came and interfered with their plans for out-door pleasure how quickly the sunshine came back to their faces at Father's suggestion of the joy the rain would be to the grass and flowers!

How much easier to be patient and happy on a broiling July day when one realized that the heat was helping to mature the fruit!

How hard it was at first to refrain from digging up the seeds, or drowning them with water from the new watering cans, and what self-control and faith was developed as they mastered their impulse, because "it would not be kind to the little seeds!"

It was a gay little party that responded to mother's song:

“Come, children, with me
To the garden away,
The flowers are all waiting
Our coming to-day.
In heart and in sunshine
Is drooping each leaf,
But the children are coming
To bring them relief.”

And the feeling of responsibility grew apace as they began to realize through their own experience that even little children had power to help and save weaker things!

Then in the yard behind the house was the home of the chickens, the rabbits and the pigeons.

“Why do you bother with hens when eggs and chickens are both so plentiful in the market?” a neighbour would sometimes ask. “For the children’s sake,” was the answer.

The tiny ones of the family seemed never tired of watching and feeding the mother hens and their babies, and often made remarks which showed their mother how much they were learning from them. "When the mother calls, the chickens run so quick and so do I," was one remark. "Pussy got into the chicken yard and the little chicks all ran so fast to their mother and she chased Pussy away," was another.

The mother hen sitting so patiently week after week on her eggs was a good object lesson for old and young.

The weakness and helplessness of the baby rabbits, pigeons, kittens and puppies, and the patient, self-sacrificing care of the mothers appealed strongly to the children and helped them to realize something of the meaning of motherhood and

childhood, while pictures, stories and games helped to deepen the impression.

Crumbs were always saved from meals and scattered for the wild birds, and great was the joy of the children when one was discovered building her nest in one of their trees. Mrs. Brown had watched anxiously for an opportunity to show them a family of tiny birds in their nest, for she felt this was an experience she would not willingly have them lose.

“In the pretty picture
Of the nested birds
Baby reads *his* ‘love-song,’
Written without words—
Hears the nestlings calling,
And his heart calls, too;
As they need their mother,
So his heart needs you”

says Froebel.

It was a pretty sight to see the little heads bent over the picture of the Birds' Nest in the Mother Play Book while Mother told the story and showed them how to make a nest with their hands, using the thumbs for the bobbing heads of the baby birds as they cried, "Peep, peep. Mother dear, peep. You are much loved. Peep, peep."

"The feeling that all life is *one* life slumbers in the child's soul. Only very gradually, however, can this slumbering feeling be transfigured into a waking consciousness. Slowly, through a sympathetic study of Nature and of human life, through a growing sense of the soul and meaning of all natural facts and of all human relationships, and through recreating in various forms that external world which is but the objective expres-

sion of his own inmost being, the individual attains to a consciousness of the connectedness and unity of life, and to a vision of the Eternal Fountain of Life. Through the play of the Birds' Nest, Mother, you take a few short steps upon one of the paths which lead towards this goal; viz., the path which, starting from sympathy with Nature, runs through study of Nature to comprehension of the forces, laws, and inner meaning of Nature. You are incited to enter upon this path by your feeling that a prophetic sense of the inner connection of Nature stirs and dreams in your child's heart. You also feel that there is no single object in Nature which has more power to lift his dreaming presentiment into waking consciousness than a bird's nest," writes Froebel.

His teaching is that man, "a single vital spark of the Divine flame," "seeks and must ever seek Unity, the Being that is One in and for itself — God," and that in the objective world he sees the Life with which he is one reflected, and through this reflection comes gradually to realize that union with all things which alone brings peace, therefore he tells us: "The yearning to inhale the life of Nature awakens early in the human soul. The young child loves to take it in with long deep breaths. Hence he longs to be out of doors and especially to watch the quick, free movements of birds and animals. Mother, cherish this longing, and whenever possible, give your child that intimacy with Nature which he craves; but do not imagine that his craving can be stilled by any merely external

experience. His soul seeks the soul of things.”

It was Mrs. Brown’s deepest longing to be to her children the interpreter of life which it is the mother’s high privilege to be. Together she and her children lived with and lovingly studied Nature, in her many forms. Like the little Hiawatha they —

“Learned of every bird its language,
Learned their names and all their secrets,
How they built their nest in summer,
Where they hid themselves in winter,
Talked with them whene’er he met them,
Called them ‘Hiawatha’s chickens.’ ”

Together they watched and sympathized with every phase of Nature, supplementing their own observations with the best books, pictures and poems they could procure, although in order to do so they were obliged to wear plainer

clothing and deny themselves some luxuries.

The smallest and apparently meanest of Life's children was in their family treated with respect because it was the dear Father's handiwork, and so a deep feeling of reverence was inculcated in each little heart. Nature was a great picture book spread before the children's eyes, and little ears were ever alert to hear the faintest whisper from Mother Nature. The things of Nature were their constant toys and playmates.

Little by little through the long summer days were the mysteries of plant and insect life unfolded to them. With never-waning interest they watched the bees carrying the "gold dust" from plant to plant and receiving the drop of sweet juice in payment, or traced with gentle

fingers the lines and markings which pointed out to them the way to the flowers' "pantry."

Then what fun on a rainy day to play that they themselves were bees gathering honey from the coloured balls which were for the time being roses or lilies, and storing it for winter in the imaginary hives built of blocks, or to be in their lively imaginations father and mother birds busily building nests and caring for hungry broods of young ones! What glorious birds' nests filled with eggs were made with the clay! What hours they spent watching the wonderful little ants at their daily work, and all unconsciously absorbing lessons in industry and perseverance which would stand them in good stead later on!

How they all, even baby, gloried in the

beautiful moonlight evenings! Great waves of pity rolled over Mrs. Brown's heart for the mothers who allowed themselves to be "too busy" in social, or other supposed duties, to enjoy these things with their children — mothers in name but in heart knowing nothing of the joys of true motherhood, all unconsciously losing the real joys of life in order to seize a few empty useless husks. "Father, open the eyes of mother that they may see the truth," was her constant prayer.

Then indoors in the early winter evenings what fun they all had trying to make shadow pictures on the wall, and how skilful some of the little fingers became till jumping rabbits and long-necked swans seemed to fill the room.

On bright, sunshiny days what jolly

times they had chasing the Light Bird as it flitted here and there as a mirror was moved in the sunlight, and how strange to find after much experimenting that no matter how hard one tried he could not catch and hold it, and what a deep light came into little eyes as they sang,

“No hand can catch the light-bird,
The pretty bird, the bright bird,
But eyes can catch and hearts can hold,
The light-bird on the wall,”

and began to realize that there was another way to possess things besides physical possession.

How wonderful it seemed to the children that the same sun and moon which gave them light also gave light to Aunt, Uncle and little cousins in far-away Japan, and shone upon the vessel in

which Grandpapa was now returning from England!

They loved to peep out of the window just before jumping into bed and say, "Shine on, little stars, and light all the little boys and girls in the world," then to hop under the warm covers and sing, "Twinkle, twinkle, little star," or on moonlight nights, one of their dearly-loved Moon Songs.



Mr. and Mrs. Brown were encouraged and helped in all this work by the beautiful mottoes of the Mother-Play Book, such as —

“ All that is noble in your child is stirred,
And every energy to action spurred
By Nature’s silent, oft-repeated word.

“ He sees the moon glide on her silver way;
He sees the stars return with closing day;
He sees each plant some hidden law obey.

“ No wonder that he thinks an inner spring
Of love creative lives in everything,
And bids it to his life an offering bring.

“ And as the bright unbroken chain returns
In beauty on itself, his spirit yearns
Towards that great love which dimly he discerns.”

The pictures illustrating the Mother-Play Light Songs were examined by the children over and over again and the stories connected with them told and re-told. Robert was particularly interested at one time in the little boy who is cry-

ing because he has broken a window; Froebel's closing words, "Sometimes we are like this little boy: we do something which keeps light from getting into our hearts. Then what a sad time we have in the dark and how much trouble we have to take before we can get the light again," making a deep impression on his mind. His father had first told it to him one day when he had been untruthful and was consequently not as happy as usual, and he asked for it many times afterwards, seeming to gain much help from it.

Mr. and Mrs. Brown carefully guarded the children lest their love for animals should be, as Froebel says, a door through which evil might stray into their lives.

"The interest a young child gives
To every animal that lives,

Dear mother, is an open door
Through which unbounded good may pour,
Filling his mind with knowledge manifold,
Of Nature's wondrous laws, so new, so old.

“But watch! lest by this self-same way
Into his soul some ill may stray,
And, while your eyes look other where,
Make for itself a lodgment there.
Watch and with noble thoughts so fill his mind,
That passing evil may no shelter find.”

They strove by means of the stories, songs, pictures and plays with which they interpreted the children's daily experiences to keep their little minds so centred on the beautiful and true that passing evil might indeed “no shelter find” there. Then when occasion arose they carefully explained to the children that there were things which

animals might do because they were only animals, and knew no better, which it would be very wrong for boys and girls, who knew so much more than animals, to do. Cats and dogs knew no better than to scratch and bite one another, or chase and kill weaker animals. Ponto treated all other dogs as enemies and drove them out of the yard, but boys and girls liked to share their good times with all others.

Mrs. Brown found too that she must be continually on the alert to direct the conversation quietly and pleasantly into other channels when neighbours or friends thoughtlessly related tales of accidents or crime in the children's hearing, for she felt that great care should be exercised to wisely present the negative side of life to the unfolding mind.

Froebel's words, "Only the conviction

that it is the darkness within which makes the darkness without can restore the lost peace of our souls," came home as a great awakening thought to both Mr. and Mrs. Brown as together they studied the Light Songs of the Mother Play.

They felt how greatly the world to-day needs to realize this truth, to be taught to look within, into our own characters, our state of awakenment or sleep, for the cause of whatever comes to us. The Light shines ever bright, clear, steady, to illuminate our daily path and fill us with joy and hope, but how often we turn our backs upon "the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and then complain of the darkness and misery! So tightly closed are the doors and windows of many hearts, so clogged

with worldliness, selfishness or prejudice, that the blessed light finds not a chink through which to penetrate. Therefore by means of many little games, songs and stories they strove to develop the children's inherent love of light, and so to lead them, step by step, to the spiritual light of which the sun and moon are but the symbol. Good morning was always sung to the sunshine and the children frequently taken out of doors in the early evening to see the moon and stars. Indeed, at one time Robert would never go willingly to bed until he had been taken out to see if the moon were shining and to wave "Good night" to the stars.

In the same way they corrected the error into which the child is apt to fall when he judges alone by what his senses

tell him (which error is emphasized by the careless expressions of grown people) and led him to realize that the apparent rising and setting of the sun was but an appearance, that in reality the sun never left us but darkness was caused by our turning away from it; that on dull days the sun was shining just as bright, but a cloud had come between it and us shutting off some of the light; for they felt it most important that the children should be helped to correctly read the symbol that later on they might grasp the reality for which it stood, thus setting their feet firmly on the ladder set up between earth and heaven. Ignoring or misunderstanding the symbol, many fail to enter into the joy of the truth symbolized.

“Nature,” says Drummond, “is not a mere image or emblem of the spiritual.

It is a working model of the spiritual.” When the truth expressed in the words, “That is not first which is spiritual but that which is natural,” becomes better understood, we shall cease striving to force abstract ideas upon the young mind, and shall instead lay the chief stress upon filling their minds with symbols of truth, so laying a solid foundation for future thought; shall realize how worse than useless it is to try to awaken ideas in early life by words alone. Nature with her concrete examples will then be seen to be the truest teacher of childhood. Long before a child can gain any idea, for instance, of the truth of immortality from words, it begins to dawn in his mind through living in close communion with nature and finding in his mother a loving interpreter of her secrets. The

child who has his attention early drawn to the connection and interdependence of the seasons, who sows seed in the spring, cares for the plants all summer, and in the fall gathers the newly formed seeds ready to plant the following spring, who watches the buds formed in the fall swelling and opening in the spring, who dramatizes the life of the caterpillar and butterfly, is planting in his mind seeds from which the full-grown flower will develop in after life. Debarred from or limited in such experiences in childhood, the mind at maturity has but a vague, hazy, unreal hold upon spiritual realities.

“Let childhood ripen in childhood,” was therefore one of the foundation stones in the life with which Mr. and Mrs. Brown strove to surround their children. They realized that life in this

world, being one continuous whole beginning in the cradle and ending only in the grave, nothing was to be gained but much lost by attempting to hurry the individual out of childhood into manhood; that by depriving him of all or any of the experiences that properly belong to that stage we were interfering with his normal development and seriously handicapping his life. Step by step up the ladder must each individual climb, and education should aim to help him place his feet firmly on each rung.

Thus the days, the months and years flew quickly by in the Brown homestead, father, mother and children forming one complete, united family, helping, inspiring, reverencing one another, while ever looking within for Light, Wisdom and Strength.

“ Dear mother, when the busy day is done,
And sleeping lies each tired little one,
Then fold your own hands on a heart at rest
And sleep with them upon God’s loving breast.

“ The love that gave you such a sacred charge
Is passing tender and exceeding large!
Oh, trust it utterly, and it will pour
Into each crevice of your life its store.

“ Then things unworthy shall no more find room,
And like a sweet contagion in your home
Your life shall be. A life that’s hid in God
Tells its great story without spoken word.”

THE END.

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Russians wanting a constitution for themselves after the Czar giving the Bulgarians one. And yet a constitution would be for Russia the first step in dissolution. Of St. Vallier he said that he hoped he could remain, and commissioned me to work to that end as far as it seemed possible and advisable.

PARIS, *January 28, 1880.*

This afternoon at Freycinet's. We talked first about the Ferry Bills. The law now under discussion by the Senate touching the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction* will pass easily, according to him. How it will go with the law concerning the congregations cannot yet be decided. Yet Freycinet thought that the Catholic party must see that the rejection of Article VII. must have still worse results than its acceptance. He means to speak to this effect too. He agreed with me that they could not dissolve the Chamber on account of anti-clerical proposals, and these would be brought forward if Article VII. were rejected. With regard to the amnesty proposed, he said that the Government would have a majority of three hundred votes against the Extreme Left, even if the Right should vote for Louis Blanc's proposition,* which he expects.

Then Decazes and the article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* came on the *tapis*. He said that everybody knew that the Government of May 16 had at that time expressed itself to that effect both at home and abroad.† There had never been any talk of armed intervention, and it was absurd to defend themselves against such an allegation.

After this we talked about Roumania, and then about our Army Bill. The uneasiness concerning it did not exist in the country, nor yet the Government, but only in the Press. In the evening went to Broglie's, where Conservative society was assembled.

PARIS, *February 10, 1880.*

Yesterday a letter from Holstein, with the proposal that I should offer to conduct the affairs of the Ministry temporarily. I am afraid if I am once there I shall not get away again. I have a feeling that my stay in Paris is approaching its end. In the afternoon went with Princess Urussow to Mlle. Jacquemart's,‡ where a brilliant company was assembled — Brancovan, Broglie, Mme. d'Harcourt, d'Haussonville, and so on. To dinner at Beust's. Gambetta was there too — fourteen persons in all. After dinner I talked a long time to Gambetta. As long as there

* Of January 22, for the granting of a complete amnesty to the Communards.

† The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* had hinted that the Government of May 16 had taken steps at Berlin, in view of a possible *coup d'état* to obtain assurances with regard to the attitude of the German Government, and had coupled therewith the declaration that the German Government, on principle, held aloof from the internal affairs of France.

‡ A famous artist who afterwards married M. André.

were listeners our talk was of the tariff and the like. When we were alone he expressed his pleasure that the *Kulturkampf* was not over in our country. He considers there can be no settlement. The contention that the struggle with the Curia was a misfortune was unfounded. There must always be contention and opposition, and so it was better that it should be in this sphere rather than in another. I then turned the conversation to the period of May 16, and brought into play my material. Gambetta listened to me politely, but with an air of knowing it already. He emphatically denied the alleged plans of the Marshal and the Duc Decazes for a *coup d'état*. He agrees with me that the communications at that time were nothing but an attempt at making themselves agreeable to the monarchical Governments. The comedy of 1875 was more serious. He had not believed in the danger of war which Decazes held before them, and had told the Minister so right out at a sitting of the Commission. He was fully informed as to the events of the summer of 1877 and Gontaut's conversation with the Emperor: "We have got all that in the archives of the Foreign Office." Meanwhile he has evidently no desire to make a public outcry about the matter. He approves of every word in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine*. But he considers that the moment has been let slip. People should not have let the Ministers of May 16 escape, but condemned them, "*sauf à les gracier plus tard*." The Ministry's conduct in favouring their impunity, he considered, was one of the well-grounded grievances of the Chamber against the Waddington Ministry. The Chamber had not been able to get over this. We then turned to the rumours of war. These, said Gambetta, were a manoeuvre of the same people. They wanted to keep up uneasiness, disturb steady work, and spread distrust of the Republic. But that made no impression on the people. The nation was apathetic, and would not let itself be easily roused. Even the debate on the amnesty would cause no disturbance. I thought that might suddenly change. Gambetta rejoined that was possible, but not probable. The real cause of the reserved attitude of the Republicans with regard to Decazes lies in the fact that they regard the matter as settled by the decision of the Chamber, which rejected the proposal for inquiry, and are afraid of exposing themselves to the complaint which they themselves make: "Why were the Ministers not put on their trial?"

BERLIN, February 22, 1880.

I am writing under the impression that a good time is at an end and an anxious and unpleasant one beginning. It cannot be altered, however, and one must bear what is inevitable as well as may be. Arrived here yesterday. Found Holstein at the station. He accompanied me to the Upper House. I learned from him that they want to have me here soon, and are consoling me with the thought that I shall go back to Paris, and Radowitz is to go there *en mission extraordinaire* to take charge of affairs till my

return. At eleven I went to the Reichstag. I talked to various deputies — Lasker, Bennigsen, Benda, Dernburg, &c. The article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* which speaks of the aggressive attitude of Russia and France has made a great sensation, and is commented on with alarm. Afterwards I learned at the Chancellor's that he had only written the article to produce an effect on the deputies, so that they might vote for the Army Bill. He laughed when I told him of the result.

Radowitz spoke to me at once about my recall, and said he was to go to Paris if I had no objection. Of course, I could say nothing else than that I did not mind. He thinks that Hatzfeld could be put through in a few months. Then to Lindau, Holstein, Busch, and Herbert Bismarck. The latter told me that his father wanted to see me about three o'clock. I went across. The Prince received me very kindly, spoke of the doubts that Marie had expressed as to the acceptance of the post, and of all sorts of things. He only wants me to act for some months; then Hatzfeld could step in, and then, after some months, perhaps Keudell. It seemed to me that he still hoped that I should even yet decide to remain here altogether. I therefore expressly declared that this was impossible to me. Then Bismarck proceeded to tell of various Ministers who had grown rich — Manteuffel, Schleinitz, Talleyrand, &c. At last he asked me when I was willing to come, and expressed the wish that I should do so by the beginning of April. I shall then be done all the sooner, and can be off in September.

In the evening dined with Bismarck. I mentioned the fears that must be entertained of Gambetta. He attached no great importance to this, and said it could not be altered if it was so. At table much port and Hungarian wine was drunk. Afterwards I sat down by the Chancellor and entered on a variety of subjects. He will not hear of colonies, now as at other times. He says we have not an adequate fleet to protect them, and our bureaucracy is not skilful enough to direct the management of them. He also spoke of my report on the French designs on Morocco, and declared we could only be pleased if France took possession of the country. Then it would have a great deal to do, and we could concede it the extension of its sphere in Africa as a set-off to Alsace-Lorraine. But when I asked him whether I should declare myself to Freycinet to that effect he said no. That was too much. Busch, with whom I discussed the same question to-day, was of opinion that the English would never allow the annexation of Morocco because of Gibraltar.

February 25.

To-day a visit from Busch. Then at the Reichstag. Later at the Foreign Office. Then at Bleichröder's. He does not approve of the mission of Radowitz to Paris, and will advise against it. It will have no effect.

BERLIN, February 29, 1880.

The Kaiser sent me word this morning to come to him at one o'clock. I had to wait for some time, as an old general was with him. When I came in he began at once to talk of my proposed appointment, regretted that I was coming to Berlin, as he would sooner see me in Paris, but did not think it could be avoided. He would have preferred Wesdehlen to take charge instead of Radowitz, but he had had to give way to the Chancellor. Then he talked a little about Russia, but soon dismissed me.

At 2.30 I had a visit from Thielmann, who is going to Paris, then from Prince Hohenzollern, and lastly from Radowitz. Went with Marie and Viktor to the Secretary of State's apartments. There a note was brought me summoning me to the Chancellor. He read out to me the report which he had addressed to the Kaiser on my affair. In it it is proposed that for four to six months from the end of March I should do the work of the Secretary of State *ad interim*, and then Hatzfeld should act in his turn, and eventually obtain the post definitely if he satisfied the Emperor. As regards the time, the Chancellor said that he counted on the beginning of April, but that the date could be postponed too if his health held out. He then said something more, from which I gathered that he would like to have me here permanently. He thought I could, if I wished, exchange at any moment with Hatzfeld. Then he came to the alarming of public opinion in Paris caused by my departure, and said it was just a proof of the good relations obtaining with France that they were not afraid to recall me. If we were anxious or had bad intentions the ambassador would not be recalled; but just because neither was the case we could without hesitation leave the post less completely filled in this way. He commissioned me to speak to St. Vallier in that sense. I went to the latter, discharged my commission, and reassured him particularly about the rumour which the *Temps* had started that Reuss was going to Paris.

In the evening at the Emperor's, where the Empress expressed to me her fears, which I endeavoured to dissipate.

March 1.

To-day the correspondent of the *Gaulois* was with me, and asked me about the situation, and told me about the alarming rumours. I told him that he must know well enough that political matters stood more simply than the general public usually supposes, as it imagines all sorts of combinations. I then said to him that the ill health of the Chancellor forced him to look about him for a substitute for Bülow. That this had not been settled at once and for good was a secret of the Foreign Office into which I could not enter further. But the fact that I was going away from Paris was rather of a reassuring nature, as it showed that our relations were of such a friendly character that the recall gave rise to no unpleasantness.

PARIS, *March 14, 1880.*

To-day Maxime Ducamp was with me. Of course, the conversation soon turned on his writings and his researches in the history of the Commune. He told me that he receives many visits from Communards, who tell him their experiences for a consideration, and in so doing achieve the object of making themselves great and lowering their comrades. He says he has published only the smallest part of what he knows. A great deal of it was so frightful that one could not have it put in print. The Commune was bestiality let loose. For instance, he said that the wife of General Eudes, who lived in the Legion of Honour Building, gave an entertainment at which she appeared in pink stockings, black top-boots, and the Grand Cordon of the Legion. She had nothing else on. He characterises the Commune and the whole Socialistic movement of our day as a mental malady, a mania for destruction, which spread by infection. A Communard came to him and complained of his misery and the cold, from which his wife suffered dreadfully, as she had no warm dress. Ducamp gave him fifty francs to buy a dress. Touched by his kindness, the Communist made him a present. It was a little metal box containing a mixture of potash and soda, which takes fire when water touches it. This is the Socialists' means of destruction. Another Communist told him that in three months the republic would be proclaimed in Russia. Then all the other European States would follow suit. Ducamp says that if the Government had extradited Hartmann* it would have been forced to give the Radicals the compensation of a general amnesty. This Gambetta dreaded, as he well knew that the result of it would be that Rochefort would become dictator. If this happened, war with Germany and a general massacre of the Conservatives would follow. He declares Gambetta hates Ferry, and Ferry him. The former harried Ferry into the *Kulturkampf* in order to ruin him, and rejoiced in his defeat.

March 18.

We dined to-day at Princess Wittgenstein's and met Blacas. After the meal he watched for an opportunity to talk to me alone, and said he was anxious that before my departure I should be enlightened as to a mistake that is current here. People declared, and that in diplomatic circles, that the Comte de Chambord had given up the idea of returning to France. That was not the case. The Comte was ready now, as before, to come back and take over the reins of government if he were called upon to save France. In the eyes of the Legitimists the lawful monarchy could alone save the country. I told him I had certainly also believed that the Count had only raised the question of the white flag in order to put a hindrance in the way of his return, for which he had no

* The instigator of the attempt on the Czar Alexander's life at Moscow on December 1, 1879. The French Government had refused to extradite him.

fancy. This Count Blacas disputed. He had only considered himself bound to say beforehand that he would try to induce the nation to give up the tricolour. He had regarded the white flag as the standard of the Monarchy. He added that even Decazes had admitted to him that that flag would appear everywhere as soon as Henri V. made his entry. He then blamed the Marshal, who by his attitude and neutrality had caused the failure of the scheme of restoration. He describes May 16 as an indefensible folly, by which he had caused much harm and made many people unhappy. As to the possibility of a restoration in the year 1873 Blacas has no doubts. But the matter had been gone about in an unhappy way. Now they would not get back to the Monarchy without a catastrophe.

PARIS, *April 16, 1880.*

The Nuncio to-day discussed in detail the decree * concerning the relations of the Prussian Government to the Pope. He asked me if it was necessary that the Curia should take further steps in order that the Government might make the proposal mentioned in its communication. I answered in the affirmative, and wrote to him later that I considered it indispensably necessary that instructions should be given to the bishops who are still in office to make the official notifications. He wishes that the amnesty for the deprived bishops should be coupled with it. And he is of opinion that an agreement could be arrived at about it in which the State would guarantee the amnesty, the Curia the proffered concessions. But the Nuncio forgets in this that the amnesty is not everything, and that the bishops are not reinstated by it. He dwelt on the fact that it was difficult for the Pope to make further concessions if he was not met halfway on the other side. This would be done if at least a prospect were held out of the revision of the May laws by legislation. He then talked a long while about Ledochowski, after I had expressed to him my doubts of that prelate. He thinks he is less dangerous in his diocese than at Rome, and is really an insignificant man.

The appointment of the Prince to the headship of the Foreign Office and the transfer to him of the representation of the Chancellor ensued on April 30, 1880.

BERLIN, *May 15, 1880.*

I now for the first time take up my journal again, after having been so much occupied since April 19, when I arrived here, what with the taking over of my appointment and the transactions in the Reichstag,† that I was not in a state to write things down

* In reply to the epistle of the Pope to the Archbishop of Cologne of February 24, in which the toleration of the announcement to the Government before the appointment of a cleric is hinted at, the Government published in April a decision of the Ministry of March 17, which, in case of the actual performance of the duty of notification, promised a revision of the May laws.

† Proceedings of the Reichstag from April 27 to 29.

quietly. During the first days when I was to make myself acquainted with the business of the Foreign Office came the Samoa question, on which the Chancellor did not want to speak himself, and begged me to undertake the defence of Bülow. As this could not be done out of hand, I had first to inform myself so as to have something of my own to say about the matter. It went off well enough, however. Then came the Eastern entanglements, and the long discussions with diplomatists attaching to them. So far I get on with the Chancellor quite unexpectedly well. I go to him every day between 1 and 2 P.M., taking the matters which he must decide on himself, discuss these, and note down the reply that I am afterwards to give to the diplomatists. Then the latter come between three and five, and when the Kaiser is there I report to him, but not often. Yesterday I waited on him, *inter alia*, and was afterwards there to dinner.

The Chancellor cannot yet get used to the idea that I do not wish to remain. He knows that I can be of use to him, and I fear that it will cost me many a struggle yet to get free again. Of the diplomatists, Saburoff is the worst, because he is always up to some secret manœuvre. Odo Russell is adaptable, Szechenyi easily alarmed. Launay has damp hands, and can never come to an end. Sadullah Bey is a pragmatical, somewhat jaded Turk. St. Vallier, as usual, very businesslike.

May 16.

The Chancellor complained to-day about the German reigning princes, and thought those gentlemen might think themselves lucky to be provided with a sheltering roof under which to live. If they went on in this way he would retire, and then centralisation would break in violently and sweep them away. I rejoined that I could not believe that the gentlemen were not wise enough to see that. They knew very well what he was to them — Bavaria especially. Thereupon he said yes, he had believed that too, but the behaviour of Rudhart* had shown him that while he thought he stood on firm ground he had fallen into a marsh.

I found the Prince in great irritation over a note from the Emperor asking for information about the Hamburg affair. He had thus to dictate a direct report, which vexed him.

MUNICH, May 22, 1880.

Herr von Crailsheim says that he agrees with the views of the Chancellor with regard to the management of the Hamburg affair. He also disapproves of the conduct of Rudhart,† and is of opinion

* The Bavarian Minister, von Rudhart, had, at the sitting of the Federal Council of May 3, contradicted the Chancellor with regard to Hamburg joining the Customs Union. The Chancellor had rebuked him for it at a party at his house.

† He had proposed to refer the proposal of Hamburg that the Federal Council should declare that the incorporation of a portion of the Hamburg suburb St. Pauli in the Customs Union, as demanded by Prussia, was illegal without the consent of the Senate, to the Constitutional Committee to report on

that it would be sufficient in a case where a State believed its constitutional or specially reserved rights to be threatened to agitate for the joint arbitration of the Constitutional Committee with the other committee concerned. Crailsheim considers it necessary to keep clear of constitutional questions as much as possible. But he cannot convince me that such questions should be avoided altogether — *i.e.*, that people should once for all refrain from bringing forward such a question when, for instance, a vested right is threatened. As Bavarian Minister he was bound to do this.

23^d.

Crailsheim came to see me. He does not know whom he is to send to Berlin, and asks if it should be Pfretzschner, though it is not known whether he will accept.

Lutz assures us of the good disposition of the Bavarian Government towards the Empire, but says it cannot be expected to say "Yes," always and forego the discussion of the constitutional question in all cases (vested rights).

BERLIN, May 26, 1880.

Yesterday evening at the Chancellor's. He spoke of his interview with Bennigsen and Miquel, though without communicating any details. To-day Bennigsen came to me and told me about their interview. He said they had fallen foul of one another, and asked whether the Chancellor had expressed himself bitterly about them. I said: "No, he has been quite quiet." Thereupon Bennigsen declared he was glad of that; he would get himself elected to the Commission* after all. I saw from the whole of his communication how unpleasant a breach with the Prince would be to him. Then he talked about the return of the bishops, and maintained that this was impossible, and would be regarded as a defeat for the Government.

When I went at midday to the Chancellor I repeated this to him. He was very much vexed that Bennigsen did not believe in the sincerity of his utterances of yesterday. He would have preferred that I should say nothing to Bennigsen. He said that they had parted threatening each other, and he had no hope of an understanding. If the Landtag did not accept the proposal he should dissolve. If the country declared against him and his policy he would retire. But with such incapable politicians as Bennigsen and Miquel, who were at the beck and call of public opinion — with such third-form boys and children he could do nothing. I objected that a dissolution would be not unwelcome to the National Liberals, as they hoped to make themselves popular by their opposition to the Bill. They might find themselves mistaken, the Chancellor rejoined. Then he interrupted me; said he meant to have despatches printed, and could go no further to-day.

* The commission for inquiring into the ecclesiastical proposal of the Government with regard to the revision of the May laws.

So we postponed the further report till to-morrow. Finally, and as I was going away, I said to him he must please remember that he had talked to me about his enemies, in particular his opponents among the officials. He had on various occasions counted up to me the number of his other enemies — Ultramontanes, Court sycophants, Radicals, foreigners; so that now I considered that the only people on whom he could rely were the National Liberals. That was why I had endeavoured to prevent the breach. That was true in certain respects, was his rejoinder, but the fellows were so stupid that there was nothing to be done with them. Thereupon I left.

I must add that when discussing Bennigsen's influence in the Commission he said that Bennigsen only wanted to alter the paragraph about the bishops. But to this he would not consent.

BERLIN, June 2, 1880.

This morning I paid my visit to old Gortschakow. He was very brisk for his eighty-three years, expressed himself as satisfied with his interview with Bismarck, and talked much about his health and his plans for the summer and following winter.

At 3.30 I drove to the station. There I met Prince and Princess Bismarck. We got into the same compartment and travelled to Potsdam, and thence by carriage to Babelsberg. There we found Redern, the Court marshals, the equerries, and the ladies-in-waiting. Soon after Schleinitz, the chamberlain, appeared, and officially announced that the betrothal of Prince William to the Princess August Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg had just taken place. Presently the august personages themselves entered. The Emperor gave his arm to the *fiancée*, who looked very blooming and charming, and led her up to the dignitaries present. The Crown Prince and Princess were very delighted. The young Duke of Augustenburg, who was wearing military uniform for the first time, seemed very happy. The Princess pleased every one very much. The Crown Prince complained to me of the unfriendliness with which the betrothal had been received by the other Prussian princes and princesses. Then we went to dinner. Opposite me sat Bismarck with Countess Schleinitz, beside me a major [the young Duke's Governor] with whom he lives at Dresden. We talked a great deal about public school education. During the meal the Kaiser gave the toast of the affianced couple. After dinner I had a talk with the *fiancée*, who has improved very much since I saw her last. She was very nice and tactful in this trying situation. As we drove to the station, I in a carriage with Albedyll, Wilmowski, and Lehndorff, those gentlemen announced that they were now reconciled to the marriage. I again travelled with Prince and Princess Bismarck. The Prince looked out at the young plantations and cornfields, talked about them, and then sang in an undertone. We were all tired, and avoided serious conversation.

BERLIN, *June 6, 1880.*

The Chancellor, when I made my report to him to-day, reopened the question of some one acting as his substitute, and said he wanted me to contrive that Stolberg * should declare himself ready to hand over the duties of substitute to me, as he did not credit him with the experience necessary to keep guard over the Imperial dignitaries in his absence. I told him that I had made an attempt, but as he had himself cautioned me not to wound Stolberg in the process, and to say nothing point-blank, had failed. He wants Stolberg to hand over the duties now, probably, as Busch says, in order that Hatzfeld may take them over. And as he is afraid that Stolberg may have no desire to give up this part of his responsibilities to Hatzfeld, he wants to hurry on the matter, so that Hatzfeld when he comes in may find the change already made. Busch thinks that Stolberg knows this, and accordingly makes believe not to understand my hints. I must try again to-morrow.

June 9.

I have spoken to Stolberg, and found him all the more ready to agree to the proposal because he himself wants to get away for a cure in the mountains. I told this to the Chancellor, who then spoke to Stolberg himself. Then the Prince commissioned me to speak to the Emperor, who approves. I shall get more to do. But the business will not keep me longer than the Foreign Office, and at any rate it is interesting and honourable. The extra work does not matter.

18th.

The Conference opened on the 16th.† We all agree to the French proposal. So it will not last long.

To-day the Chancellor read to me a memorandum he had drawn up, in which he proposes to the Emperor that I should act for him as Prussian Minister too. If anything is to be counter-signed I am to send it to him, as only a real Minister can do that. For all other signatures I am to do as before.

BERLIN, *June 29, 1880.*

Yesterday was a very busy day. The *Times* correspondent came in at ten in the morning, and tried to make clear to me the advantages that would ensue if the *Times* published the decisions of the Conference soon. Scarcely was I at the Foreign Office when the Greek envoy at St. Petersburg, M. Brailas, arrived. I discussed the Bavarian loan with him, and depicted the dangers to which Greece would expose itself if it did not pay the Bavarian debt. Then came the Turkish Ambassador with a note protesting against the decisions of the Conference. I promised

* The Vice-Chancellor and Vice-President of the Prussian Ministry, Count Otto zu Stolberg-Wernigerode.

† The conference of the Powers, represented by their ambassadors, at Berlin for settling the Græco-Turkish boundary question.

him to lay it before that body. Then to the Chancellor's. We talked of the news that the Russian Ambassador in London had proposed to Lord Granville to furnish twenty thousand Russians to enforce the decisions of the Conference if England would send a fleet. At three the sitting of the Conference began; it passed off very quietly, but lasted till six o'clock. Then I went across hastily to dine with the Chancellor. It was his farewell dinner before his departure. Only Holstein, the Rantzaus, and the Eickstädt's, husband and wife, were there. We sat in the drawing-room till 8.30, then I went with Philipp Ernst to the theatre, and at ten to the Foreign Office, where I worked till eleven. Then to Odo Russell's, where there was a large party. I had myself introduced to Lady Simmons, the wife of the general, who told me "*qu'elle s'était beaucoup amusée avec les musées de Berlin.*"

I told the Turkish Ambassador about the Russian proposal as to the twenty thousand men, which rather alarmed him. I said if the Russians sent that number others probably would do the same. "*Et vous aussi?*" he asked. I replied that we had no such intentions, but that there were plenty of others who would be a party to it. He said he would telegraph to that effect at once. In this way I have put a flea in his ear which will cause the Porte to think.

The Chancellor leaves to-day. So I shall have more independence, but at the same time more responsibility. The Conference will probably come to an end this week.*

POTSDAM, July 11, 1880.

In consequence of an invitation from the Crown Prince and Princess, I left Berlin yesterday at 6.30 P.M., encountering at the station Friedberg the Minister, who was also invited, and Hermann Grimm and his wife, who were bound for Wannsee, and reached the Wildpark station towards 7.30. There a carriage was waiting for us, and took us to the castle. Their Highnesses had gone for a walk, and Seckendorff conducted me to my rooms. An ante-room, a small sitting-room, and a large bedroom. Very high *rococo* rooms, with silver-bordered panelling and *rococo* furniture. In my sitting-room there are portraits of the Margravines of Ansbach-Baireuth. My bed is surmounted by a silvered canopy. The hangings are of Chinese silk. The whole gives the impression of a glorified Schillingsfürst. About 8.30 I went into the garden, where we had supper in front of a small pavilion. There were present Joachim and a pianist, Friedberg and I, and some courtiers. The repast was somewhat disturbed by gnats. After supper we went into the drawing-room, where Countess Dönhoff appeared. Then we had a concert by Joachim till eleven o'clock, when everybody retired. This morning breakfasted with the Prince and Princess in the pavilion, where only the

* The Conference closed on July 1.

three young Princesses were present. Afterwards a long walk with the Princess and the Prince in the grounds. Then all went to their rooms till dinner.

About four we got into the carriages, the Crown Prince and Princess, the Hereditary Princess of Meiningen, the three little Princesses and myself in the same. We drove through the parks to the Marble Palace, and from there to the steamer, which took us to the Pfaueninsel [Peacock Island]. There we left the steamer, inspected the palm-house which had been burnt and the castle, and then proceeded to a switchback, in which the children and some gentlemen and ladies of the suite took a ride. The evening was wonderfully beautiful, the park, with its great trees, splendid. Then we went on board the steamer again and returned. In the evening tea in the garden and a party in the drawing-room. Tomorrow early I return to Berlin, much refreshed.

During the morning walk the Crown Princess talked much about the Eastern question. She thinks it would be dangerous if Russia should occupy Constantinople, and doubts the accuracy of the contention that the possession of Constantinople would entail the weakening of Russia. She thinks that a State might be formed, not including Bulgaria and Greece, with Constantinople as the capital. She hopes that even the present English Ministry will not consent to the seizure of that city by Russia.

When the Princess went away the Prince took me through the garden, talking the while of the Prussian officers whom we are now to send to Turkey. He expressed his doubts whether this should not now be postponed, for he thinks that the officers might be made use of to lead or assist in the resistance of the Porte to the Powers. He bade me communicate his doubts to the Chancellor.

To the CROWN PRINCE.

BERLIN, *July 16, 1880.*

Your Imperial and Royal Highness was on my last visit to Potsdam graciously pleased to entrust to me communications to the Chancellor, which I hastened to convey, and concerning which I take the liberty of most humbly reporting.

As to the doubts of your Imperial and Royal Highness with regard to the sending of officers and civil servants to Turkey, the Chancellor has come to the conclusion that he cannot share them. He considers the measure in various respects advantageous. For one thing, the duties there discharged are very instructive to those employed, and will give them the opportunity of showing the extent of their capacity; and, secondly, it will furnish us with a number of reliable informants whom we could obtain in no other way. Moreover, the influence which we should thus acquire in Turkish territory is not to be underrated. The consequences the arrangement may have for the Turks and its acceptability to the European Powers need not concern us. It is not our policy, he says, to further either Turkish or European interests. A

European interest is, to his mind, a fiction useful to all who want to use others, and can find persons who believe in the phrase. It might be useful to us to have the Turks as friends in as far as this might be to our advantage. The Turkish artillery had been trained by Prussian officers at a time when we were living on terms of the utmost cordiality with Russia, and we had thus acquired influence and useful connections in Turkey. If Chauvinism, Panslavism, and the anti-German elements in Russia should attack us, the attitude and the military efficiency of Turkey would not be indifferent to us. She could never be dangerous to *us*, but under certain circumstances her enemies might be ours.

*Speech at the Sitting of the Ministry of August 7, 1880.**

In the vote of the Minister of Public Worship, as made known to Ministers, the view is expressed that the decision of his Majesty settles the matter. I admit that it certainly will be difficult for his Majesty to depart from a decision once arrived at, as he regards the question from the point of view of sentiment. I too am of opinion that if his Majesty adheres to his decision the Ministry must yield to the Royal command and be present at the celebration. Meanwhile it might be advisable to lay before his Majesty once more the objections to his participation in the celebration.

In his Majesty's communication the inhibition of the ecclesiastical festival at the last moment is suggested as a possible danger and special stress is laid on this.

I believe that *this* danger does *not* exist, and that if the Church festival should be inhibited it would injure the Catholic Church, not the Emperor. The leaders of the Ultramontane party, who exercise a decisive influence over the clergy, are more likely to seize the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty towards the person of the Emperor. If they did the reverse the celebrations would still take place, and the people would condemn the abstinence of the clergy as tactless. But it is, in fact, the proposed warm and respectful reception of the Emperor, and the speeches and demonstrations connected with it, which give cause for hesitation.

It is a known fact that the so-called ecclesiastical proposals have awakened uneasiness in the Protestant inhabitants of Prussia, and the dread that we shall go further in the way of concessions to the Catholic Church than is compatible with the dominant position and the rights of the Government. So if the Protestants see that the Emperor is in friendly communication with the Church authorities they will say to themselves, "These people have been in opposition for six years, and in antagonism to the laws of the State, and yet the Emperor meets them halfway."

* Concerning the participation of the Emperor in the celebration of the completion of Cologne Cathedral. It was fixed by a Cabinet Order for October 15.

The agitation of the Radical party, which makes use of the ecclesiastical proposals as a means of alarming the Conservative portion of the Protestant community, would receive new aliment from the circumstance, and the consequences would make themselves felt at the elections. Should the event which the Chancellor fears take place, *i.e.* should Melchers* appear and put the Emperor in the position of sanctioning an illegal act by his presence, the impression would be still more regrettable. Under these circumstances I consider it imperative that the Ministry should once more lay its objections before the Emperor. If his Majesty does not assent the Ministry would have to adopt those measures which the Minister of Public Worship proposes in his memorandum.

To the CHANCELLOR.†

BERLIN, *November 2, 1880.*

I have the honour most obediently to inform your Highness that I have so far recovered from my illness that I am able to go out again. But as the doctor has forbidden me all mental exertion as long as my present weakness lasts I find myself unable to undertake the business of the Foreign Office again, and I hope I may count on the consent of your Highness if I accept an invitation from my brother and go for a time to Rauden until I am fit for work. I expect that in a fortnight or three weeks I shall have so far recovered as to be able at any rate to take over the duties of the Embassy in Paris again, even if I cannot manage those of the Foreign Office, in so far as this is in accordance with the intentions of your Highness.

As soon as I come back from Rauden I shall place myself at your Highness's disposal, and should be very grateful if I were allowed to receive the instructions of your Highness personally at Friedrichsruh.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, *November 3, 1880.*

I thank your Grace most warmly for your note of yesterday's date, which has just reached me, and am sincerely glad to learn from it that the illness, of which I heard with the keenest regret, is over, in your opinion. It is natural, and his Majesty the Emperor will no doubt consent to it, that your Grace should for the present desire some rest, in order to recover the strength you have lost. That you should presently, as soon as your health admits of it, again take over the Embassy in Paris, is, apart from other considerations, a necessity on financial grounds, in order that all the payments attaching to the post in Paris may once more become current. Even the shortest

* The deprived archbishop.

† Prince Hohenlohe had been unable to perform his duties on account of illness since September.

stay your Grace might make in Paris would be sufficient for this, and would not, of course, stand in the way of a renewal of your leave, as soon as your health makes this desirable.

To see you before then, is not only a business necessity for me, but it would give me and my wife the greatest pleasure if your Highness would honour us with a visit here. My passing intention to go this week for a few days to Berlin, I must regretfully relinquish, because the indisposition that attacked me last week has not yet passed off. In any case I can reckon upon an opportunity of repeating verbally to your Highness before you return to Paris, the expression of my heartfelt gratitude for the friendly and effectual manner in which your Highness has granted me your support during the summer. I couple this with the hope that I may depend upon the same in similar cases, and that your Highness's health will soon permanently restore to you your accustomed energy in the Cabinet, and in sport.

To the Editor of the "National Zeitung,"

DR. DERNBURG.

RAUDEN, November 14, 1880.

Sir, — I take the liberty, of enclosing herewith two newspaper cuttings, which continue to spin the web of invention that appeared some time ago in the papers about the alleged Chancellorship crisis. There is not even a shadow of truth in this supposed storm in the Foreign Office. The "unexpectedly speedy conclusion" of my functions in Berlin has no foundation but in my illness. If I do not now return to the Foreign Office after a probably complete recovery, the reason lies in the fact that a longer duration of my Commission than until the end of the year was never contemplated. The coincidence of the recall of Herr von Radowitz with my return to Paris needs no further explanation. If the *Tageblatt* brings the alleged family conference at Rauden into connection with the occurrences mentioned, it really beats everything. I wonder that the four brothers are not also supposed to be commissioned to set the Dulcigno question to rights. Perhaps you will have the goodness to rectify these misstatements in a few words, as you have, after verbal discussions, occasionally done before. I think, however, that it would be best to pass over the family gathering in silence.

Journal.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, November 26, 1880.

I arrived last evening, and found Schweinitz, who left again the same night. I had some conversation to-day with the Imperial Chancellor about French affairs. He emphasised the fact that we might tell the French openly that we were pleased that they should pursue interests elsewhere, as in Tunis, West

Africa, or in the East, and should thus be kept from casting their eyes upon the Rhine frontier. That does not mean that we wish to goad France into an entanglement, but only that we are passive onlookers, and would not incommode France if she were otherwise engaged, for we have nothing to ask of her but peace and quietness. The Imperial Chancellor thinks Gambetta's influence has waned, and he believes that Freycinet will be called upon again to play a part. He considers that one ought to treat Gambetta with civility, but not to *fête* him too much.

This evening, when St. Vallier came, foreign politics were discussed. Prince Bismarck, like St. Vallier, expressed the wish that the ships of both nations might soon leave Dulcigno. Prince Bismarck blamed Gladstone's policy in the most decided manner. He said he (Gladstone) did nothing but further Russian interests in the East, and left the interests of England out of account. Later on the conversation turned on Decazes' *brochure*. Bismarck said that the whole war scare of 1875 was caused by the imprudent utterances of Radowitz to Gontaut. The latter had reported them, and thereby given Decazes means for his intrigue. Gontaut, he said, had pursued the affair also on his journey to St. Petersburg. It had thus become possible for Decazes to raise the alarm of war in the world, and Gortschakow could, on his arrival in Berlin, pose as the preserver of peace.

November 27.

During a discussion that I had to-day with the Imperial Chancellor I thanked him for the kindness shown to me during my official activity in Berlin. He said all sorts of complimentary things, and especially that I had only made the mistake of being too conscientious and not lazy enough. That this had made me ill. Should I come into the same position again, I must not do so. Then he spoke of Hatzfeld, who no longer cared much to come to Berlin, but would do so notwithstanding. He would now try whether the personal and other difficulties could be overcome. So long as he should be as well as at present, he could manage with Busch. In summer it was different. The conversation was not further continued.

BERLIN, *November 27, 1880.*

Returned from Friedrichsruh. I note down the points which St. Vallier discussed with the Chancellor, and which are of quite a confidential nature, wherefore St. Vallier was obliged to advance them verbally.

(1) They wish in Paris that we should exercise our influence in Italy to persuade the Italians to adopt a less encroaching attitude in Tunis. The Italians want to depose the Dey, and to put his first Minister, a creature of the Italian Government, in his place. France would use every means to prevent this.

(2) In reference to Greece, the instructions that Radowitz had received, agree with those of France to her representative: a warning against precipitate action.

(3) In the Dulcigno affair, England has proposed that the fleets should now be withdrawn, though not entirely, but be dispersed among the Mediterranean ports so that they would be prepared at any moment to take further action. However, neither Prince Bismarck nor the French Government are inclined to remain on under the guidance of such a fantastic Government as the English (Gladstone), but will definitely recall their ships. Prince Bismarck believes that Austria also takes this view of it.

(4) The French Government has projected an electric and telegraphic exhibition for next year. Stephan has expressed himself guardedly. The Imperial Chancellor though, who knows the reason of Stephan's ill-humour, has assured St. Vallier of the collaboration of Germany.

BERLIN, *November 29, 1880.*

To-day at eleven o'clock I was with the Kaiser. I found he had a cold and was hoarse, but bright and cheerful. He asked after my health, and wondered that I should go to Paris now; but agreed with me when I explained to him the reasons. We then spoke of my visit to Friedrichsruh, of my transactions with Bismarck, about the Ministry of Trade,* about Hatzfeld, Radowitz, and other things. With reference to Hatzfeld the Kaiser is as little clear as Bismarck, whether it will be possible to bring him *here* again. About the Eastern question I reported what the Imperial Chancellor had commissioned me to say. In the meantime, however, a fresh fact had entered into it, which made the English proposal impossible, namely, the declaration of France that she intended to withdraw her ships.

We then came to the question of the Jews. The Kaiser does not approve of the action of Pfarrer Stöcker, but he thinks, that the affair will come to nothing, and considers that the noise is of use in making the Jews rather more modest.

At the close of the discussion I asked permission to leave Paris again, and to go to Munich, which he granted. "Above all, spare yourself," the Kaiser concluded; "you are too valuable to us to lose."

PARIS, *December 5, 1880.*

This morning I visited Gambetta. He received me in his polite and cordial Italian way. He expressed himself as much pleased with the result of the measures directed against the congregations, and thinks that everything has gone very well. The country was once for all anti-clerical, and had demanded and expected the fulfilment of the decrees. The only danger for the Government was, that they had not taken energetic action soon enough, and thereby had caused mistrust of their sincerity. Freycinet, whose qualities as a speaker, and whose authority and character Gambetta especially praised, and whose resignation † he described as a loss

* Which Bismarck had undertaken on September 15.

† On September 19 Freycinet had resigned; Jules Ferry succeeded him as premier.

to the Cabinet, had, he said, allowed himself to become infatuated by the reverend intermediaries, and had at last gone so far that he was no longer willing to carry out the decrees.* "And yet," exclaimed Gambetta, "he wanted them himself. I told him that the existing laws sufficed." After the decrees were once there the country had demanded their fulfilment. Freycinet's vacillation had roused the greatest uneasiness and excitement, and his position had become untenable. I asked Gambetta if it was true that the unauthorised congregations (with the exception of the Jesuits) had been inclined to seek authorisation, and he told me the following fact: On July 9 a meeting of delegates of all the unauthorised congregations took place in the Archbishop's Palace in Paris, under the presidency of Archbishop Guibert, to consider the question whether they should apply for authorisation. The meeting, with two exceptions, decided unanimously in favour of it. When the leaders of the Catholic movement, Buffet and the Jesuits, heard this, they were beside themselves, and stormed until another meeting of the delegates took place in the Archbishop's Palace, which was attended by many laymen, more especially those leading partisans of the Jesuits, and here the question was decided in the negative, and the appeal for authorisation pronounced inadmissible. Then they went to the Curia, which answered evasively. The congregations submitted to the will of the Jesuits, and gave up the appeal for authorisation.

In discussing Eastern affairs Gambetta thought that the best thing to be done was to induce Turkey, by means of money, to withdraw from the countries named in the conference. With reference to this I remark that Baron Erlanger has asked on his own responsibility, in Constantinople, whether the Turkish Government would be inclined to regulate the Greek question for a million pounds and 100,000 pounds *backsheesh*. He has not yet received an answer.

On my leaving, Gambetta touched upon the approaching elections in Germany, and said that according to his information the elections would not bring in a Reichstag of a different colour: *Rien ne sera changé*. He thinks the Progressive party have done themselves harm with the lower classes of the people by their attitude in the Jewish question, for these, as he knew from Alsace, hated the Jews.

KING LUDWIG OF BAVARIA to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

HOHENSCHWANGAU, January 15, 1881.

MY DEAR PRINCE HOHENLOHE, — By the convention with Greece, concerning the repayment of the Bavarian loan, of which

* The decree of March 29, 1880, according to which all Jesuit establishments were to be closed within three months, and notice was given to all congregations hitherto unauthorised by the State to apply for authorisation within the same time.

the completion is imminent, an affair which has hung over us for decades has reached a satisfactory conclusion. This speedy and satisfactory result is in great measure due to the active and circumspect co-operation which you, as interim chief of the Foreign Office of the German Empire, have lent to the settlement of this affair. Accept, my dear Prince, the expression of my fullest acknowledgment and my friendly thanks for the meritorious efforts made by you on this occasion which proved your devotion to the interests of my House.

I am, with particular esteem,
 Your well-disposed King,
 LUDWIG.

Journal.

PARIS, *March 11*, 1881.

The Gambetta-Grévy conflict has lately occupied me much. The affair is for the time being patched up, as Gambetta appeared yesterday at the Elysée ball, and conversed with Grévy in a friendly way. How it will be with the *scrutin de liste* no one knows. Certainly Grévy would not be able to maintain himself if he suffered a defeat. It is not impossible with Grévy's apathetic character that that may happen.

PARIS, *April 8*, 1881.

General Pittié* who passed through Berlin on his way back from St. Petersburg,† saw the Kaiser and Prince Bismarck there, and is much pleased with the graciousness with which he was treated at Court. Prince Bismarck talked to him and St. Vallier on various questions, and said that the French were to go ahead in Tunis, and not trouble themselves about the Italians. Referring to the Greek question he said: "In Greece there is only one honest man, that is the King; for he is not a Greek, and we must not suffer him to be driven out." Pittié and St. Hilaire ‡ are greatly astonished by this plain speaking.

BERLIN, *May 20*, 1881.

Arrived here on the 16th in the evening to dine with Bismarck. There was not much conversation about politics, as an old Herr von Dewitz, a college friend of Bismarck's, talked much about Göttingen's conviviality. He had been drinking a good deal at table, and would not cease talking about his former feats of that nature.

The remaining days passed in conversation with Styrum and Holstein, and in visits and sittings of the Reichstag. On Thursday I was with Hermann in Potsdam. It is to be noted that

* The chief of the Military Cabinet of the President.

† The funeral ceremony of the murdered Czar Alexander II. had taken place on March 27.

‡ Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Foreign Minister since September 22, 1880.

Prince Wilhelm is a rather youthfully inconsiderate young man, of whom his mother is afraid, and who comes also into conflict with his father, the Crown Prince. His wife is said to exert a moderating influence. The Crown Princess spoke much about Russia, also the Crown Prince. They are both horrified at the state of things there, and the Crown Princess quite shares my view that only the constitutional system can help. The Imperial Chancellor fears that a law-giving assembly would only cause the Czar to make good speakers Ministers, but that I did not tell her. The Crown Prince said that the Czar expressed himself in a very friendly way to him, that the Grand Duke Vladimir had become, through repeated sojourns in Germany, quite a friend of Germany. The Czar had expressed himself as averse from a Constitution.

May 22.

Yesterday, Imperial dinner with Viktor. Very successful. The Emperor, in the Silesian Cuirassier uniform, very bright and cheerful, commanded me for twelve o'clock to-day.

May 24.

At the audience yesterday we spoke of Paris, and then of Russia. The Emperor seemed not much pleased by the nomination of Ignatiew.* He spoke, too, of the Constitution, and I thought I noticed that he would become reconciled to the idea of a constitution for Russia.

I went in the evening with Paul Lindau and his wife to the National-theater, to see Rossi as Romeo. Magnificent. Then to the Imperial Chancellor. When I gave him the Countess Mercy d'Argenteau's compliments, the conversation turned upon the war and the peace negotiations. He said that he had waited for Clément Duvernois to negotiate for peace as the Emperor's plenipotentiary. The latter, however, came too late, when the armistice had just been concluded with Thiers. Of the Empress and her activity as Regent, he spoke very contemptuously, saying she had conducted herself quite as a Liberal Regent, just like the Crown Princess, whose idea is to hand everything over to Hänel, and let him act.

BERLIN, *May 27, 1881.*

The result of a discussion that I had yesterday with Saburow is that the negotiations begun last year between St. Petersburg and Vienna will assuredly lead to a renewal of the alliance of the three Emperors. It seems that the matter is being very secretly conducted. Saburow thought that I knew about it,

* Count Ignatiew, the former Ambassador in Constantinople, was appointed Minister of Crown Lands on April 7, on May 16 Minister of the Interior.

and spoke out in detail. Between Berlin and St. Petersburg there is no difficulty. In Vienna they still want to make the condition that besides the recognition of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the sandschak of Novibazar shall also be annexed by Austria, and included as Austrian territory in the guarantee of the treaty of the Powers. A condition to which Russia will not agree, as the Emperor of Russia will not concede any more than his father. Saburow believes, however, that this difficulty can also be overcome, and hopes soon to sign the treaty which is to be concluded here. Saburow spoke then of the state of affairs in Russia, and said that all Russians who come through here are constitutionalists. He himself seemed doubtful, and fears that, as the Imperial Chancellor will probably have said to him, a constitution and the legislative body consequent upon it will call forth centrifugal tendencies.

PARIS, *June 21, 1881.*

Arrived here this morning at nine o'clock. At three o'clock I paid a visit to Grévy. He received me with particular friendliness and seemed much satisfied with his success.* After some general conversation I came round to the latest political occurrences. He said that the Chamber of Deputies voted only under great pressure for the *scrutin de liste* † but would "have been really in favour of the retention of the mode of election hitherto existing. It had also, he said, passed the law by a majority of only 8 votes. The country was quite indifferent, and rather against it. Only some ambitious persons had pursued the matter from selfish motives. The country, he said, desired peace. Also the attempt to move the Chamber not to prolong the Budget had arisen from these motives. It was intended to disquiet the country. "I would, however, never have dissolved the Cabinet. If it would not vote the Budget, that would have been its own business. I would not have lent a hand to it."

I found the President more self-possessed than usual. When I left he accompanied me to the outer steps, which he never does as a rule.

General d'Abzac, who visited me, said that Gambetta had done himself harm not only by his journey to Cahors,‡ but also by his aristocratic manners and predilections. About eight days ago Marquis du Lau, whom he knows, arranged a dinner to meet Rothschild. At this dinner were present several men in good society: La Tremoille, A. Rothschild, Breteuil, Kerjégu, and others. There Gambetta spoke very conservatively. The dinner has put his Republican friends out of humour. That has also contributed to prepare his downfall in the Republican party.

* Presumably the result of the Tunisian expedition is meant. By the Treaty of May 12 France had received the Protectorate over Tunis.

† On May 19. On June 9 the Senate rejected the law.

‡ Gambetta's native town. The journey took place from May 25 to 30.

June 22.

Lesseps was with me here, and said that the United States had concluded a treaty with Colombia, by which the new canal will fall into their hands. The Senate of Colombia, however, he said, had thrown out the treaty, and Lesseps desired now that Germany should take the matter in hand and carry through a general neutrality, an understanding between all Powers and Governments that would recognise the neutrality of all sea-straits. The Colombian Minister is coming to me to-day.

The following quatrain is attributed to Beust, who will, however, not acknowledge the authorship:

Si pour éviter la guerre
Il est utile de braire,
On doit prier M. St. Hilaire
De faire une circulaire.

PARIS, June 29, 1881.

Gambetta, whom I visited to-day, spoke of the Anglo-French commercial treaty, and remarked that he held the tariff question far less important than the preservation of good commercial relations, and that he hoped that some result would in the end be gained. The Chamber, he said, would have an opportunity of expressing itself upon the tariff question at the Discussion to be held upon the proposed prolongation. The Tariff-protection party was represented especially in the Senate, but the Senate, he said, should not be allowed to lead in this matter. Of the *scrutin de liste*, he said that it was impossible for the next period of legislation. The question must for the present be allowed to rest. It was precisely the supporters of the present mode of election, however, who would reap no advantage from the rejection of the *scrutin de liste*, for the Radical party would gain seats. Referring to the inquiry * to take place to-morrow, Gambetta said that it would lead to nothing, only to squabbling. It seems then to be correct when it is said that Gambetta will not attack Albert Grévy.

July 12.

Waddington told me a few days ago about the debate in the Senate on the *scrutin de liste*. His colleagues, he said, had wondered at his courage in daring to oppose Gambetta, before whom they crouched à quatre pattes. He said he had only conquered because he brought the matter as quickly as possible to a decision. Had it lasted another fortnight Gambetta would have brought round the majority, for he would have made extraordinary efforts to undermine them.

Yesterday I was with the Nuncio. The Nuncio looked very miserable, and smelt very much of *vésicatoires*, which he had about him. Even the flies in his room were torpid and sticky.

* Into the state of things in Algiers, and the accusations made against the Governor-General, Albert Grévy, brother of the President.

PARIS, July 15, 1881.

Yesterday was the festival of July 14, in memory of the day when the mob of Paris killed a few innocent soldiers and officers and destroyed the Bastille, in which no one would ever have been imprisoned again, for the *grands principes* of 1789 were already proclaimed. There had, however, been a rising, and the Republican *faiseurs* thought themselves called upon to choose the anniversary for the national festival, in order to treat the Parisian mob to an ever recurring compliment. This pleases the Parisian very much, and those who really no longer know anything about the Bastille are pleased that it is a holiday, when the *badauds* have plenty to look at, and when there is much drinking, shouting, and perspiring.

PARIS, July 15, 1881.

At nine o'clock in the morning I went on to the terrace of the Tuileries Gardens, to look on at the demonstration before the statue of the town of Strassburg — opposite the Rothschilds' house — about which I had been told. A few workmen in black coats were standing there, and had red flags, which they had brought with them and had reared against the pedestal. They were waiting for their comrades, who had appointed a procession to start from that place. As no one came I went home. Later a procession of students is said to have sung a song there. At one o'clock I drove to the review. Of the other gentlemen of the Embassy, none were present, as Bülow was having an airing at the seaside, and Thielmann in Compiègne. On the President's stand I found many Ambassadors' wives, a few elegant South American diplomatists, as well as the friend of the Grévy household, Madame Dreyfus. Then came Lyons, Fernan Nunez, and Orlow, and others. We were much crowded together. The review was like all others. The heat was tempered by a fresh breeze. The sun was terrible, and many soldiers fell out. Indeed the grass was so dried up that it suddenly took fire, probably in consequence of a match thrown down, and began to burn. We saw how a regiment, which was some distance from us, made every effort to stamp out this prairie fire. After the review I looked at the Boulevards and a few other streets to enjoy the spectacle of the countless tricolours. At the review, Madame Blest-Gana, Madame Magnin,* Madame Arago, and the Prefect of Police had arranged to come to me at 8.30, in order to take a drive, under Andrieux's guidance. They came very punctually. I drove with Madame Magnin, and the little Blest-Gana. The youngest, who is fifteen years old, had an enormous Rembrandt hat on, and makes conversation like a lady. In the other carriage drove Madame Arago, Madame Blest-Gana, and Andrieux, and the others in a third carriage.

* Madame Blest-Gana, wife of the Chilian Minister; Madame Magnin, wife of the Minister of Finance.

We drove along the Seine as far as Ranelagh and then turned into the Bois. There we got out and walked to the Lac, where everything was illuminated like fairyland, and fireworks were let off incessantly. We sat for a time on the grass, went in an illuminated bark in and out amongst the other boats lighted up with paper lanterns and then returned home. After I had set down some of the ladies, I drove at a foot pace with Madame Magnin from the Avenue de la Grande Armée to the Louvre. We could not, however, get so far, and were compelled to do the last part on foot. At twelve o'clock I set down Madame Magnin there, and walked for some time longer through the lighted up streets, and in the illuminated Tuileries Gardens, and arrived at last at one o'clock at home, where I found the official illuminations still burning. I immediately ordered them to be extinguished, thankful that the festival was over. I must say though that the Parisian people, although they drank continually in the heat, conducted themselves very respectably. There is said to have been a great scuffle in the Faubourg Montmartre between the police and the mob. But that was at two o'clock in the morning, and only there. For the rest everything passed off very harmlessly. I would not, however, go to see the festival a second time.

August 7.

Returned yesterday from St. Valéry-en-Caux, where I had two days sea bathing. In the afternoon as I was walking across the Pont de Solférino, I saw a dirty-looking man walking along in front of me, who probably came from a Social-Democratic meeting and was drunk. He evidently was repeating the speeches that he had heard, in incoherent phrases, which he shouted out in an impassive tone. I understood "*Malheur à vous*," and such like. A stout old workman in a blouse listened to it for a time, and then shouted: "*Veux-tu bien cesser de gueuler, salaud*," and so on. That seemed to impress the shouter so much, that he was silent and went quietly on his way amidst the laughter of the listeners.

BEUZEVILLETTE, August 16, 1881.

An excursion that was arranged to Cabourg,* could not take place, and Madame Magnin, whom we were to visit there at Beuzeville, asked me whether I had given up this visit also. I could not well decline to visit her at her château, also it seemed to me expedient and interesting. I left Paris therefore yesterday morning at eight o'clock, had an hour to wait at Rouen, and went on then to Nointot, where Madame Magnin's carriage met me. The house is a small château, in the style of the last century, with a pretty park. I found there the Prefect of Rouen, a M. Renaud,

* A sea-side resort.

with his wife and three daughters. The latter distinguished themselves by a French such as I had not yet heard. The men of the party told me it was "*l'accent bourguignon*." We amused ourselves for two hours with croquet, and then I dressed and went in to the *salon*. At half-past six was dinner, at which the above-named guests, besides an old cousin with his wife, two Sous-préfets and a Receveur, were present. All very pleasing, cultivated people, particularly the Sous-préfet of Havre. In the evening we played a game of whist, and then the Prefect drove away. The Sous-préfets remained. I am occupying an old-fashioned room, which has a view over the trees. Unfortunately it rained in torrents all night, and is pouring still at present.

PARIS, August 18, 1881.

On the 16th we had a walk in the rain, and then in the afternoon we played whist. Dined at seven. At ten I drove with M. Nelson, the General Secretary of the Prefecture in Rouen, to the station, where we groped about in the wet and at last found a train, after one had steamed past us so full that it could not take us up. I arrived at Rouen at half-past twelve. The Hôtel d'Angleterre was so full that I found poor accommodation though it was clean enough. The next morning I looked at the beautiful churches of Rouen, the most beautiful Gothic churches that I know. The Palais de Justice is also a magnificent Gothic building, in the transition stage from Gothic to Renaissance. I breakfasted with M. Nelson, who told me much of interest about Algiers, where he was born. He accompanied me to the station. I reached Paris at half-past four. There every one is occupied with the scene at Belleville,* and discusses whether this will injure Gambetta or not.

PARIS, August 22, 1881.

The Nuncio, who visited us yesterday, is of my opinion, that Gambetta will not undertake the Ministry, but that a Freycinet-Ferry-Brisson Ministry is at hand. He thinks that St. Hilaire will not remain. He thought too that Gambetta would be elected, and that he is not yet done with. This I believe too. Then I drove with Philipp Ernst to the Père Lachaise, walked through the cemetery and came to the Mairie of the 20th Arrondissement, where Gambetta's election was.† We roamed about at first for a time before the Mairie, where various groups of citizens and workmen stood arguing. Incredible nonsense was talked. Some were for Gambetta, others against him. A little workman in a black blouse with a pale face and fanatical

* During an election speech on the 16th, Gambetta was howled down by the Radical mob, and forced to withdraw.

† On August 21 the election of Deputies took place.

eyes said that Gambetta could not be elected because he was a friend of Gallifet, who had sent him, the workman, to Nouméa. Then he spoke against the clergy, said that it was his wish that they should be excluded from election "*parce que ils ne prennent pas part à la défense de la patrie; il faut les traiter comme les femmes.*" Once he said, "*Le bon Dieu ne peut pas vouloir cela, s'il y a un Dieu — car moi, je n'y crois pas,*" and so on. He complained that the rich bought themselves graves in Père Lachaise, and the others were buried together. A well-to-do citizen, on the other hand, with whom I spoke, was against the Socialists, and said that would be a nice thing if one had to give one's savings to these people! All pleasure in work would then be at an end! When I asked him whether Gambetta would be elected, he said, "*Nom de nom, oui!*" A workman in a blue blouse spoke against the Socialists, but put himself to shame by all sorts of mistakes and was laughed at. On the whole the Socialists were in the minority. We then went to the polling-place where we looked on at the conclusion of the *scrutin*, and then returned through the cemetery to our carriage.

In the evening we went for a little to the Folies Bergères, and when it was time we wandered through the neighbouring streets to the *Figaro* and the *Citoyen* in the Rue Drouot. In the office of the *Citoyen* there were many Socialists, who were lamenting very much that Gambetta had been elected in both election centres. I bought a few newspapers and hurried home at twelve o'clock in order to be in time to telegraph. To-day every one is well satisfied. The peaceful Republic is secured. Ferry has gained a great victory. Gambetta must now go with the Moderates, for the Radicals will no longer follow him. My reports hitherto are fully confirmed.

VARZIN, October 23, 1881.

Left Rauden October 22. In the evening at Berlin, Hôtel du Nord. Left Berlin on the morning of the 23rd for Varzin, travelling by way of Stettin. I arrived in time for dinner, towards six o'clock. The Imperial Chancellor looks bright and well, and seems in very good humour. He inquired about my election prospects. On the whole, he said, one could not make any prognostication. It was all the same, however, how the elections went. A change of system, he said, would not be the result. Should a majority come which would not accept his economic measures and schemes of taxation, these must be postponed. These, he said, were things which could not be carried through off-hand. Whether this should be carried through during his lifetime, or after, was the same to him. That he had the duty only of proposing what he held to be needful.

In the evening at tea there was much talk about the past, about Darmstadt, Frankfurt, and so on. Then the Prince sud-

denly asked: "Well, where has Gambetta been all this time? I am still waiting for him."* He then said that he would have liked much to see him. It was part of his duty to receive foreign statesmen. Gambetta was, he said, without doubt called upon to play in one of the most important neighbouring countries a great part, and therefore it would have been quite agreeable to him to converse with him. That the rumour should still exist, the Imperial Chancellor said, was explained by the impossibility of finding a form for the *démenti* that would not wound Gambetta. Then he told me of the various attempts that had been made to bring Gambetta and himself together.

The Prince also asked whether I was satisfied with Thielmann. I answered that I thought him a very capable man. The Prince said that the gentlemen in Berlin were better satisfied with Bülow's † political report than with Thielmann's. That, he said, surprised him. That it was possible Thielmann might be better in a financial capacity than in diplomacy. He might fit himself in time for the Ministry of Finance. Only that he must attain the age for it; meanwhile he might always be a Minister somewhere. I then indicated Bülow as the most suitable First Secretary in Paris. At half-past eleven we parted.

To-day after breakfast conversation turned again upon the policy towards France. The Imperial Chancellor insisted again, as on previous occasions, that we could only wish that France might be successful in Africa. We might rejoice if she found satisfaction elsewhere than on the Rhine. Our relations with France could always be peaceful and friendly; for as long as she has no allies she could not be dangerous to us. We should, he said, beat her, even if the English were with her. In reference to this he told the following story about his sojourn in Paris in the year 1867: He had then often conversed with Marshal Vaillant, who showed him particular sympathy, and told him that he, Bismarck, was popular amongst the French soldiers as *un gaillard que n'a pas froid aux yeux*. When Bismarck rejoined that that was very pleasing to him, and proved that good relations with France could be preserved, Vaillant answered: "*Ne vous y trompez pas, il faudra tout de même croiser les baïonnettes.*" And when Bismarck asked why, he answered: "*Nous sommes comme le coq qui ne veut pas qu'un autre coq crie plus fort que lui.*" "*Eh bien,*" replied Bismarck, "*vous allez nous trouver au rendez-vous.*"

In the evening the Prince added that whoever were Minister in France, even if it were Gambetta, there would be no change in our peaceful policy. Then he begged me to tell the Kaiser that he was still unwell, and suffering from nerves. The Kaiser, he said, was inconsiderate towards him, and irritated him. For instance, that he had, inspired he knew not by whom, written the Prince a

* Gambetta had been in September and October in Germany.

† The present Imperial Chancellor.

rude letter about Korum's appointment,* and accused him of negotiating with Rome without asking the Kaiser.

But the Kaiser, he said, had in this forgotten that he had expressly granted his consent to Schlözer's mission.† That Schlözer had gone to Rome to ask what would be said in Rome if on the Prussian side, while supporting the laws, a conciliatory course was pursued. That there had never been a question of a Nunciature and of a reciprocal agreement. Bismarck wishes to obtain satisfaction for the Prussian Catholics by filling up the vacant sees and by dealing with them generally in a conciliatory manner. More he will not do.

I must still add a few more utterances of Bismarck's. During a discussion about the state of things in Germany, he said that the Germans did not know how to deal with the Nuremberg toy that he had given them; and that they were spoiling it. If this went on the allied Governments would return to the old Diet, and only preserve the military and financial confederation, but give up the Reichstag. Then he said: "I might, of course, do things much more comfortably. I might make trouble, do nothing, and play the part of a figure-head Imperial Chancellor. That would be much more comfortable. But as long as I am in office, my sense of duty will not allow that. I can also not hurt the old gentleman by leaving him so long as he lives; I must get on as best as I can with him."

PARIS, *October 31, 1881.*

Returned from Berlin yesterday. This morning with Barthélemy St. Hilaire, whom I found to have resigned. He said that he would retire shortly. That Gambetta's Ministry was inevitable. He, however, could not remain in it. He recognised Gambetta's good qualities, his talent, his spirited activity, his patriotism. But Gambetta had grown up in an atmosphere that was strange to him (St. Hilaire), and to which he could not reconcile himself. Gambetta was an orator, he said, but no statesman, and wanting in calm deliberation. We should, of course, see what he would do. All through his explanation it was apparent that he hoped that Gambetta would soon be used up. This hope, and the, in my opinion, unfounded expectation that there will then be a return to more moderate men, leads Barthélemy St. Hilaire to hope that Ferry will not enter the Ministry. However, he fears, and Beust, whom I saw later,

* The Government had come to an understanding in July with the Curia about the appointment of the Alsatian, Dr. Korum, as Bishop of Trier. He was consecrated Bishop at Rome on August 24, and on August 29 acknowledged by the King. He was excused the oath of allegiance.

† Schlözer, then Minister in Washington, had gone in July on a secret mission to Rome to negotiate semi-officially about the settlement of the education contest.

decidedly believes, that Ferry will not refuse in the unlikely event of Gambetta offering him a Ministry. He is doubtful, he said, whether Freycinet will undertake the Ministry of War. He recognises Freycinet's capabilities, but thinks that he is too much of a mathematician, and too much accustomed to mathematical deductions, to have a correct estimate of things, and to take sufficiently into account actual facts. St. Hilaire thinks that Léon Say will now, notwithstanding his former attitude, even now come in as Minister of Finance, assuming that Gambetta offers it to him. That he is not a consistent man. It seems that Tissot is to receive the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. St. Hilaire thinks that Gambetta would do well to take the Ministry of Justice. Then he would not have much to do, and would be able to direct the whole. A position as a Minister without a portfolio would be detrimental to Grévy, for in that case Gambetta would be practically President of the Republic, and there would be nothing left for Grévy. With regard to the extradition question, St. Hilaire said that the ministry were agreed thus far, that in the *exposé des motifs* they must pronounce that murder was not a political crime.

Grévy, to whom I paid a visit afterwards, said: "*Eh bien! ici nous sommes dans l'enfance.*" He approves of the ministers defending their policy to the Chambers. He really could not see how the ministry could be reproached for the Tunis affair. The expedition had been necessary. Everything had gone off well. Perhaps the military administration had not been all that it should have been; he did not know. Beust does not regard the position as serious, though he does not think Grévy's optimism reasonable.

PARIS, November 1, 1881.

Blowitz came to-day. After a few introductory words he touched on the matter that had brought him. He said: "*Gambetta n'a pas été à Varzin?*" and looked knowing, as if to say, "I know that he was there." To that I replied: "No, he has not been there." And, as he stared at me in surprise, I added: "The Prince would have been very pleased to receive Gambetta, had he gone to Varzin; but he did not go." Blowitz, in reply: "*Mais alors son voyage était une bêtise! Comment, il s'expose à être insulté en Allemagne,*" &c. Blowitz gives Gambetta two years; then he will be worn out.

PARIS, November 2, 1881.

St. Vallier, who had announced that he would call upon me to-day, came at five o'clock. He was anxious to discuss the advisability of his further stay in Berlin. He said that he was obliged to consider two points; in the first place, whether, in the opinion of the German government, he could rely upon the peaceful intentions of the French government in view of Gambetta's

entry to the ministry; and, in the next place, whether the composition of the ministry would make it possible for him to remain. As far as the first point was concerned, he was convinced that Gambetta would pursue a peaceful, non-revengeful policy. If he should be forced to change his opinion, he would not remain, as he could only represent a policy of peace. Thus, if Prince Bismarck did not withdraw his confidence from the French government after Gambetta's entry to office, it would be possible for him to remain. As to the second point, it went without saying that he could not represent a government which should form a Floquet government or anything of the kind. I replied that the German government would maintain their previous amicable relations with the Gambetta ministry, which appeared to be an imperative necessity to France. I was neither commissioned nor called upon to express any wishes concerning the Berlin Ambassadorship. As he asked me, however, I could assure him that we should be very glad to continue our diplomatic relations with him. As to the second point, I must regard his decision as final. St. Vallier begged me to write to the Prince that he had not applied directly to him, as he did not wish to trouble him for an expression of opinion. He was quite satisfied with my opinion. Whether, indeed, Gambetta did not prefer "*de se débarrasser de moi*" was a question which he could not as yet determine.*

PARIS, December 4, 1881.

Yesterday the first dinner at Gambetta's.† The whole Diplomatic Corps was invited. Gambetta received us at the drawing-room door. I sat next to the nuncio, who was in the place of the lady of the house, opposite to Gambetta, and the new Minister for the Interior, a young man of good appearance and agreeable conversation.‡ Gambetta sat between Lyons and Orlov. The catering was in the hands of the renowned chef Trompette, and was not, as is usual with Ministerial dinners, given to Potel and Chabot. Consequently it was very good, and did not give me indigestion, as is generally the case with these official dinners. After dinner I had a conversation with Spuller; § then with Gambetta. The latter said that he could not understand the opposition that was being raised to the Imperial Chancellor's financial policy, as his policy must advance the consolidation of the Empire. I told him that the Opposition, the Progressives as well as the Centre, were opponents of the unity of the Empire, federalists. That was new to him, and it was only then that he understood

* After the formation of the Gambetta Ministry, on November 14, St. Vallier handed in his resignation.

† The Ferry Ministry had resigned on November 10. On November 14 the Gambetta Ministry was formed. Gambetta became Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

‡ Waldeck-Rousseau.

§ Gambetta's friend, Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign Office.

their policy. He expressed his entire admiration of the Imperial Chancellor's speech,* especially of what the Prince said about gratitude.

December 16.

Gambetta dined with me yesterday. The dinner was down below; eighteen people. Of the Ministers, there were only, besides Gambetta, Paul Bert,† Waldeck-Rousseau, and Proust,‡ Kern and Beyens of the Diplomatic Corps, Berger and Pallain. There had been rumours that I had only invited the Ministers who had been presented to me or who were in sympathy with me. So, when Cochéry § came to me on the 14th to offer his apologies, I hurried to Paul Bert, who is the most disreputable person in the ministry from a social point of view, and invited him, frankly informing him of my reasons. He was very delighted, and accepted at once. The dinner went off very well. I sat between Gambetta and Waldeck-Rousseau. Kern, though, ate so slowly that he reduced Anton and Auguste to the verge of desperation and prolonged the dinner for an extra quarter of an hour. Beust acted as hostess. When we rose from table news arrived that Rochefort || had been acquitted in the Roustan case. Gambetta shrugged his shoulders, and said that it had been a mistake to bring the action at all. He had also been accused of embezzlement, and his friends had urged him to prosecute for libel, but he had not done so, knowing that these actions only injure the prosecutor. The Parisian press would always be libellous and the public would always read it. Consequently the jury would always acquit, even if guilt were clearly proved.

PRINCE BISMARCK to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, January 4, 1882.

I sincerely thank your Highness for your kind wishes for the New Year, and heartily return the same, while thanking your Highness for your goodwill and effective support in office.

VON BISMARCK.

Journal.

PARIS, January 14, 1882.

It is forty years to-day since papa's death!

I arrived here last night with Elizabeth.¶ Was at Gambetta's

* During the debate on November 28, upon the Empire's contribution to the Hamburg Customs tariff, Bismarck had remarked: "No one owes any gratitude to me, and whoever says I expect it calumniates me. I have done my duty, and nothing more."

† Minister of Education.

‡ Minister of Fine Arts and State Manufactures.

§ Minister of the Post Office and Telegraphs.

|| Rochefort, in the *Intransigent*, had published revelations concerning the French representative in Turin, Roustan. Thereupon Roustan had brought an action against Rochefort, with the sanction of the Government.

¶ After his absence on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Philipp Ernst, which took place in Vienna, January 10, 1882.

this morning, and met Spuller. I only stayed a moment, as he was very busy. He spoke of the revision and of the necessity of including the *scrutin de liste* in the Constitution.* He seemed sure of success, and said, laughing: "*Ils le voteront!*" In his opinion, it is only by means of the Damoclean sword of the *scrutin de liste* that a solid majority, without which it is impossible to govern, can be created. "*On ne peut pas gouverner, si on doit se former chaque jour une nouvelle majorité.*"

January 19.

The votes in the offices for the special commission for the revision of the constitution show thirty-two out of thirty-three members who are against the *scrutin de liste*. Blowitz declares that Gambetta will not carry the *scrutin de liste*, and that he will be wiser if he restricts himself to a fight against a general revision of the constitution and on behalf of partial revision. Then he will hold his ground. If he insists on the *scrutin de liste* he will fall. I have to-day reported that Gambetta will carry the *scrutin de liste*, and do not know whether Blowitz is right. There is a struggle on the Bourse between Bontoux and the Jews.†

PARIS, January 31, 1882.

Blowitz says that Gambetta ‡ has now passed over to the "*sauveurs*," and is on a par with the Comte de Chambord, Prince Victor Napoleon, and the rest. He will thus only be recalled if he is needed for the salvation of the country. He admits Gambetta's extraordinary oratorical talent, courage and determination, and parliamentary *savoir faire*, but says that Gambetta does not possess the qualities of a statesman. He is a domineering democrat, who seeks to win the people by promises in order to secure power for himself. For the present he is shelved. As he identified himself with the *scrutin de liste*, he was obliged to make the *scrutin de liste* the condition of his resumption of office, and as the Chamber will not agree to it before 1885 he will be excluded from participation in affairs until that year. The revision of the Constitution, says Blowitz, has been shelved. It is not at all necessary, according to the regulations, to place the decision of the Chamber before the Senate.

WIESENTHIED, March 21, 1882.

Just as I used to write my diary by the page, for Stephanie to read when we met, I am writing to-day to record the whole im-

* The Bill for a revision of the Constitution, to include the *scrutin de liste*, came before the Chamber on January 14.

† On January 19 the Catholic "Union Générale Bontoux" suspended payment.

‡ On January 26, after the rejection of the *scrutin de liste* by the Chamber, Gambetta resigned. On January 31 the new Freycinet Ministry was formed. Freycinet became Foreign Minister.

pression of the past week. Now to tell of Stephanie's illness and last hours.

On Sunday afternoon, March 11, we received a telegram to say that Stephanie had fallen ill of diphtheria. This news alarmed us. The contents of the telegram, however, were not disturbing. We thought that the illness had just commenced and that it might be possible to check it in its first stages. In the evening, however, news arrived that her condition was serious. We drove to Dr. Teste, the specialist in this disease, obtained from him an order to make use of his remedy, and immediately telegraphed it to Munich. On Monday the news was no better, but we still could not leave, as the *Chargé d'affaires* to whom I was bound to entrust the direction of affairs, was away, and not yet returned. At last he came, and we started on Wednesday evening. At Strasburg we found a telegram reporting improvement, likewise at Karlsruhe. We continued our journey relieved, but when we arrived at Munich station we were met by Karl Schönborn and G. Castell, who informed us that since the afternoon a change for the worse had taken place, and the operation of tracheotomy had been performed. Then our hopes sank very low. When we entered the house the news was told us in greater detail. Stephanie had herself asked for the operation. And now she was content to be able to breathe once more and to have escaped the danger of asphyxia. I found her in bed, unable to speak, on account of the incision, calm and composed. But her glance, as I said good-night to her, told me that she was conscious of her danger. We inquired early in the morning, and heard that the night had brought no change for the worse. The day passed quietly. In the evening I sat for a long time by her bedside, holding her hand. That pleased her, and she thanked me with a bright look. At ten o'clock I went down again, to write. I had hardly finished one letter before I was recalled by a cry of terror that the end had come. We hurried, hardly able to climb the stairs, to her bedside. She lay there pale, and apparently dying. All gathered round and cried. But when the doctors came in immediately afterwards they said that it was only a faint; she soon recovered. The night passed in anxious suspense. There was, to all appearance, little alteration; her weakness, however, increased, and no stimulants had any effect. Some of us remained upstairs, the others sat below, in the drawing-room. Then we went up again. She lay very quiet, dozing occasionally. As morning approached I stayed upstairs. And as the day began to break and the thrushes to sing I saw that the end could not be far away. There was no alteration perceptible in her face, no distortion, no fear, no rattle in the throat. She lay quietly, with her eyes open. Then her eyes assumed a wonderful, unearthly brilliance. There came into them an expression of illumination, joy, and resignation, such as I have never seen on any human face before. Thury sat

on the bed and cried. She whispered "Better," to give him hope. Then she asked for a sleeping draught, which, however, the doctors could not give her. They gave her ether and camphor injections, which somewhat stimulated and refreshed the dying girl. I could do nothing more to help. When it was broad daylight, and the sun peeped brightly in, her breathing grew shorter and shorter, and at last ceased. Her pulse was quick to the last. Then her hands grew cold, her eyes dim, and at half-past eight her heart had ceased to beat.

When I saw her again in her coffin a few hours later she lay with a peaceful smile on her face. We buried her to-day. The grave is under a tree near the chapel. It was a mild, sunny spring day, on which we took leave for ever of our most deeply-beloved daughter.

Man hat in Blumen dich zur Ruh getragen,
Ein Blütenhauch zieht über deine Gruft.
Du warst ja selbst wie Lenz und Frühlingsduft,
Wie Sonnenschein an blütenreichen Tagen.

Und wenn du kamst, zog Freude, zog Behagen
In jedes Herz, wie wenn die Frühlingsluft
Das junge Grün zu neuem Leben ruft
Und sanft im Hain die Nachtigallen schlagen.

Nun ist dahin, was uns so hoch beglückt,
Es brach des Auges strahlend heller Glanz,
Das heitre Lächeln deiner Lippen schwand.

Als sie mit Blumen deinen Sarg geschmückt,
Stand ich gelähmt von Schmerz. Nimm hier den Kranz,
Geliebtes Kind, den ich in Tränen wand!

PARIS, *May 13, 1882.*

Beust, who was here to see me this morning, came to talk about his recall, and said it was a piece of great stupidity to recall him. In Vienna they dread his memoirs. Now he will have time to write them; here he would never have had the time. Besides which, all the opposition forces will gather round him. He was in the Upper House, so could take an active part in politics. It seemed to me that he talked of himself as of a third person, a bad character, quite outside and apart from himself. His mocking laugh, as he spoke, and the whole interview, made a very repellent impression upon me.

PARIS, *June 23, 1882.*

The Egyptian question has kept me very busy during the last week.* Last Sunday I went to Freycinet, to inquire how matters stood with the conference. He had had favourable news, but he did not know who was to issue the invitations. I said: "Why,

* France and England had mooted a conference of ambassadors in Constantinople for the settlement of the Egyptian question.

the Powers who first conceived the idea of the conference." "That would be France and England," said Freycinet. "Then," I replied, "those two Powers should issue the invitations." This was a new idea to Freycinet. Then he asked when the conference ought to begin. I thought not before the 5th; but that was too late for Freycinet, who proposed Friday the 23rd. I suggested that it was an unlucky day, and he had better propose the Thursday. That suited him, and he asked me to inquire from Berlin whether they would be satisfied there with the mode of invitation and the day. I then went to church, and afterwards home, telegraphed to the Imperial Chancellor, and by six o'clock received the brief reply that he was quite satisfied with all that we had proposed. So I went at once to the Ministry, but there was no Minister there, no *chef de cabinet* — in fact, no one at all. Then I went home again, and as I was dining in the evening at Blest-Gana's, I had the horses put in earlier, and drove out to Passy, to Freycinet's first, and thence to the dinner in the Avenue de la Grande Armée. The dinner was curious, and there was a reception afterwards. The next few days there were all sorts of ups and downs, until to-day the conference has at last begun. Waddington, with whom I was speaking to-day, is very dissatisfied with the weakness of the French and English Governments, and said that in this way the Powers would lose all their prestige with the Mohammedans. Now it is difficult to do anything. The Western Powers ought to have put Egypt in order a year ago.

PARIS, July 6, 1882.

At church this morning. I went to Notre Dame. A plain coffin stood there, with a white cloth over it and a wreath of everlasting flowers upon it. Two women were kneeling in front of it. The priest came into the side chapel close by and said a private Mass over it. I remained there too, to hear the Mass. Stephanie's birthday!

VARZIN, November 7, 1882.

Yesterday I went to see Friedberg, to discuss the ecclesiastical question with him. He agrees with me that we cannot now be compliant. That is also Bismarck's opinion. He will wait until proposals from Rome are brought forward. Friedberg thinks that Puttkamer and Gossler are making a mistake in passing over the Catholic State priests and putting Ultramontanes in good positions. That is absurd. The choice of Korum as Bishop of Treves was a blunder. Korum was recommended by Manteuffel and is a Frenchman. Friedberg likewise thinks that Herzog is not suited to Breslau, and that Gustav would have been the proper Prince Bishop. Herzog is a man of inferior education and views;

a *Rechnungsrat* [accountant] who wishes to play the cavalier, and whose elevated position makes him lose his head.

In the evening I drove out to Potsdam, to the Crown Prince. He received me at first alone, and spoke very sympathetically, and at length, about Stephanie. Then he began to speak of the danger of his own house in Berlin. The district was infested with diphtheria, and he is uneasy about the winter, when he will have to go there. Then the Crown Princess came in. Likewise very sympathetic. She thinks in many ways the same as I, and expresses her opinion very frankly. I am only afraid that she does the same to others, which is not wise. It may be that Christian consolation does not suffice one, but it is better to keep this to oneself and think it over. Plato's dialogues and the ancient tragedies she finds very consolatory. Much that she said was true. But she is too incautious and hasty in her verdicts upon things which are, after all, worthy of reverence.

We went to supper and continued our conversation. After the meal a Fräulein Zimmermann played the piano.

To-day, the 7th, I left Berlin at 8.30 A.M. for Varzin, *via* Stettin, and other places, and arrived here at six o'clock. The Imperial Chancellor, with his white beard, was in high spirits. At table we discussed wines and fruit; afterwards, over our cigars in the drawing-room, moose-hunting, Prince August of Prussia, Frederick the Great, and other subjects, but politics little. He recommended an attitude of great reserve towards the Western Powers, no offers of advice, and no incitement to disturbance, which would give occasion for ill-feeling. If the French want the English to give them a free hand in Syria, it does not matter to us. The French are to be allowed to do what they like everywhere, so long as they keep away from the Rhine.

He expressed himself unfavourably concerning Courcel.* He is too passionate and aggressive. If we had been less considerate to France, his behaviour might have caused friction. I asked whether this referred to the question of the European mandate, to which Bismarck replied that it did. He thought that we could not give any mandate without compromising ourselves. We need not form any verdict with regard to the actions of the Great Powers, but must, before all things, pursue a policy of self-interest.

November 8.

The Prince mentioned Turgenieff to-day, and declared that he was the most intellectual living writer of any nationality.

In the evening a long discussion over our pipes. Bismarck charged me to present his compliments to St. Vallier, and to say to him "*que nous le regrettons.*" With regard to French affairs,

* Baron de Courcel, formerly director of the political department of the Foreign Office, was appointed Ambassador to Berlin, December 28, 1881.

he says that we must look on quietly, should the French and English locomotives happen to collide. For the rest, we are to continue to observe the same benevolent attitude, ignoring possible clamorous accusations of Chauvinism, and we are to assure the French that we shall never threaten them, even if they should get into difficulties, so long as they keep away from the Rhine. They can do whatever they like in the rest of the world. We are quite agreeable to a republic. In a monarchy we see the prospect of a war. If they attack us, we shall defend ourselves. Yes, it may be that we shall attack them, if the monarchy seems to menace ourselves.

PARIS, *November 15, 1882.*

Returned to Paris the night before last. Received a great many visits yesterday. Went to see Duclerc to-day.* He spoke of the Egyptian Question, said that there was a prospect of an understanding with England, and is very pleased that the other Powers did not encourage England in unreasonable demands. The matter is not, however, concluded. The form of the arrangement was a matter of indifference, provided that France secured a share, proportionate to her interests, in the control of the Egyptian finances. Among domestic questions, he touched upon the anarchist movement.† The minister said it was somewhat ominous, quoted the terms of his declaration, and said that he should maintain order with a strong hand. The foreigners who took part in the movement would be expelled. As far as the Chamber was concerned, he complained chiefly of the Conservatives, who ought to have been satisfied with the attitude of the Ministry, and yet were his most violent opponents, because they would like to see the situation as bad as possible; and yet this would not end in their advantage. The monarchy was impossible. There was talk of *coups d'état*, and there were many impotently desiring it with no prospect of realisation. The European Powers, Duclerc thought, were chiefly interested in the consolidation of the Republic. The French Republic would only produce a bad effect upon neighbouring monarchies if it did *not* exist. A monarchy could never subsist for long in France, and its collapse would entail many far-reaching disturbances. I expressed to M. Duclerc my entire agreement with his opinions.

PARIS, *November 16, 1882.*

This morning, as I was riding in the Bois, I met Andrieux. We rode a little way together. Andrieux gratefully accepted a few congratulatory remarks upon his speech, and said he thought

* The Freycinet Cabinet resigned on July 29, when the Chamber refused the credit required, for the garrisoning of the Suez Canal. On August 8 the Duclerc Cabinet was formed. Duclerc became Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

† Excesses of the miners at Monceau-les-Mines, August 16.

it would now be necessary to combat parliamentarism.* It is said that he is full of a revision of the constitution in a Conservative direction.

PARIS, November 20, 1882.

M. Mollard wrote to me a few days ago that the President invited me on Monday the 20th to a shooting party at Marly. As I had no shooting things with me, I bought myself a shooting jacket at the Montagnes d'Ecosse and a pair of waterproof shoes. I then took advantage of the opportunity to buy myself a new gun, which I got from Guyot, who makes a specialty of English guns. One I borrowed from him. I was thus equipped, took 150 cartridges with me, and drove at ten o'clock this morning to the Elysée. There I found Fernan Nuñez, the Roumanian Minister Pherekydes, M. Mollard, and Grévy's two nephews, and finally Grévy's inevitable Jewish friend of the family, M. Dreyfus, all in shooting garb, most of them in blue coats. Then appeared a little old gentleman, who looked like an Upper Silesian country pastor, and who was introduced to me as M. Grévy's agent, a M. Mesquitte, a landed proprietor at Rambouillet. At last the President arrived. Then we went to lunch, which lasted rather a long time. Afterwards cigars were distributed, and the President said: "*Eh bien, messieurs, nous pourrions nous mettre en route.*" By this time it was twelve o'clock. In the courtyard we found two omnibuses waiting, in which we took our seats. I was with Grévy, Fernan Nuñez, Pherekydes, and Mesquitte. We talked of all sorts of things on the way. Grévy gave us a lecture on Napoleon I. and his marshals. We drove through the Bois to St. Cloud, past Beauregard, to the Marly preserves. Here we found the beaters and the *gardes-chasses* drawn up. An *inspecteur des forêts* showed us our places. We began with a drive across the ground, which, especially near a wood, swarmed with rabbits. In this drive I shot seventeen. Then came a battue of pheasants. After that we had a drive and a battue alternately. The weather was passable; a downpour now and again. At dusk the shooting came to an end. We had brought down 340 head, including 95 pheasants, 23 hares, 14 fallow deer, 1 partridge and a *rare*, or land-rail. The rest were rabbits. I shot most — 60 head exactly: 24 pheasants, 34 rabbits, 1 hare, and the landrail.

M. Grévy changed his clothes in a forester's lodge. Then the bag was counted, not for the pleasure of looking at it, but so that they could pack up the various boxes of game. It is the custom here to send a portion of the game to each member of the shooting party. This packing took an hour. At last we were in the omnibus again, and arrived back at the Elysée at seven o'clock, where we took leave of M. Grévy and drove back home.

* In the Chamber Andrieux had proposed a modification of the constitution on the model of North America (with reference to the President's position and the independence of the Ministers with regard to the Chamber).

PARIS, December 18, 1882.

I was talking to Duclerc to-day about Egypt. He would not say anything about the state of the negotiations. I could see, though, that he does not anticipate any result. He denies that the English are raising difficulties in Madagascar. A section only of the English politicians, who are under the influence of missionary zeal, are against France; the Government does not interfere. Upon the Egyptian question England will see that her action can bring her no advantage. Europe cannot sanction the closing of the route to India. "I do not know," said Duclerc, "what proposals your Government is making to England, but think that your interests are the same as ours."

December 19.

Shooting to-day with Hirsch, in the Versailles preserves. I drove with N. Potocki, Hirsch with the Duc de Penthièvre and the Duke of Koburg. A true sign of the times was the sight of the grandson of Louis Philippe shooting with Hirsch, the German Jew, at Versailles. It was raining as we drove out, but later, it cleared up, and the day was very pleasant.

PARIS, January 9, 1883.

Prince Napoleon was here to-day. He inquired after the Emperor and the Crown Prince, and charged me to convey his respects to both of them. He began to talk about the events of the day, and about Gambetta.* He asked what I thought of him. I said that he had, at any rate, shown himself to be an *homme de génie*, which he thought rather an overstatement. I said that he was, at any rate, an oratorical genius, and that he admitted. But in the conduct of business he lacked experience and education. He said he thought that he would leave a great *vide* in the party. Such positions could not be created at any moment. Upon the Egyptian question he was right, only he had not understood how to deal with the matter. He spoke with great contempt of the Chamber, and said that nothing more could be done in the Egyptian question at present, though France had had important interests there.

PARIS, February, 1883.

President Grévy, to whom I paid a visit to-day, is by no means ill, weak, or mentally depressed. He is as healthy and cheerful as ever. When I mentioned to him that people were saying that he was ill, he replied with a laugh: "*Où ma santé les gêne beaucoup.*" I thanked him for Mollard's visit of condolence,† when

* Died December 31, 1882.

† On the death of Prince Karl, January 21, 1883.

he took the opportunity of asking for details of Prince Karl's death, and expressed his hopes that the Emperor would keep well. When I mentioned the troubles of the last few days he said that it was all very *ennuyeux*.* He complained of the stupidity of the Chambers, who were always inclined to push necessary measures to extremes. In the affair of the Princes of Orléans,† he said that he did not accuse the Princes of plotting, but he reproached them with allowing their friends to plot, and for inciting their party Press against the Government. He had been elected to uphold the Republic. It was his duty to defend the republican form of the State; the stupid law, *cette bête loi* of 1881,‡ deprived the Government of all means of defence and left it helpless. An alteration in the law was necessary. No Government tolerated attacks such as those daily hurled against the Republic.

PARIS, April 1, 1883.

Have written nothing since February. During a several weeks' attack of influenza, which only left me strength enough to stand and to look after current business, I was incapable of writing for other purposes. So an interesting time has gone by without notice; the arrest of Prince Napoleon,§ the debates about the Princes of Orléans, and much besides. On March 17 I went to Nice to gain strength, and we stayed there till the 28th at the Villa Mussigny. Went for excursions to San Remo and Mentone. Back on the 29th. On the 31st dinner at the War Minister's. It was thought here that I should remain in Nice to avoid the dinner at Thibaudin's.¶ I had no idea of this, however, and, in view of the instructions I had received, never thought of avoiding the dinner. It was arranged for seven o'clock, but did not begin until eight, because, for one thing, the Minister of Commerce only arrived at half-past seven. I had Thibaudin on my left side, Lord Lyons on my right. I had a very pleasant conversation with him. We talked about all manner of harmless subjects. The Minister for War is of my opinion that it is a mistake to suppress gambling, and can only lead to harm. We talked about absinthe drinking

* Resignation of the Duclerc Cabinet, January 23. Fallières Ministry, January 28.

† In January and February the Chambers were debating a law against the pretenders. As a result of the Senate's rejection of the Government proposals the Fallières Ministry resigned on February 13.

‡ Presumably the Radical Press law of July 21, 1881, which precluded the punishment of attacks upon the Government which did not directly lead to criminal actions.

§ As a result of his manifesto of January 16, which demanded the election of the head of the State by a plebiscite. On February 9 an *ordonnance de non-lieu* was issued, which resulted in the release of the Prince.

¶ General Thibaudin, captured when a colonel at Metz, escaped by breaking his parole and re-entered the service. He became Minister of War in the Fallières Ministry and retained this post under the Ferry Ministry formed on February 21.

and the prevalence of it for a time in Africa, in which respect, however, there has been an improvement. On the whole I found Thibaudin a calm, well-bred, serious-minded man. It is a great pity that he broke his parole in the year 1870.

PARIS, *April* 6, 1883.

Professor Krauss from Freiburg was here to-day. He is still much vexed because he was not made Bishop of Trèves, and told me the following about the matter: The Emperor had told him that he was to be Bishop of Trèves; but of late the Pope had lauded Korum to the skies, to make him coadjutor of Strassburg. When Archbishop Raess made this known to Field-Marshal Manteuffel, the latter protested and declared that he could not do with a priest who was committed to French interests, and refused to ask the Emperor's sanction. The authorities at Rome were thus embarrassed as to what they were to do with their desired coadjutor, and through the nuncio at Munich, and through Werthern, they recommended him to the Imperial Chancellor for the bishopric of Trèves. Bismarck, who had hoped that this would put the Alsatians in a good humour for the elections, was willing to propose Korum as Bishop of Trèves, and charged Gossler and Puttkamer, who were at Ems at the time, to get the consent of the Emperor. The two gentlemen went to see the Emperor just as the operation on the Empress was taking place, so that the Emperor, without reading it, agreed to sanction the nomination. Afterwards the Emperor was very angry, but then it was too late. So now they have Korum at Trèves and Herzog at Breslau — two enemies. Krauss says he hears that they are willing to surrender the academic training of the priests if the obligation to report themselves be remitted, and this Krauss regards as a great mistake. That Jacobini, since the death of Cardinal Franchi, has gone over to the Jesuits, Krauss declares is a certainty. The article in the *Norddeutsche Zeitung* on Ledochowski was the result of a communication made by Krauss to the Grand Duke of Baden, in which the danger of Ledochowski's residence in the Vatican was noted, together with the necessity of removing Ledochowski from the Vatican and of replacing Jacobini by another Secretary of State. But the article was so clumsy that it simply made Ledochowski's footing in the Vatican more secure.

PARIS, *April* 11, 1883.

This evening I had an opportunity of discussing the projected and modified manœuvres on the frontier with General Thibaudin, and told the General that I was glad the plan of the manœuvres had been modified, as the original project, had it been carried out, might have given rise to unpleasant discussions in the press of both countries. Thibaudin said that he had modified the plan because he believed that the same object could be attained

without operating on so large a scale. "Besides which, I thought," he said, "that you were asked." I replied that I had known nothing about it. When I brought the conversation round to General Gallifet, and said to General Thibaudin, "You preferred not to concede this unusual position to the General," he replied: "Yes, I did it myself in the General's interest. The command would have done him more harm than good." Then the Minister of War began to talk about his own past, and said: "I will speak quite frankly to you. If I left Mayence, chiefly for the purpose of seeing my mother, and then took a commission in the Army again, the position in which my native country was placed at the time is my excuse. But I was most careful not to pursue any ambitious intentions in so doing, and for that reason, after the conclusion of peace, I at once relinquished the position I had acquired during the war. The commission of inquiry then acquitted me." I restricted myself to replying that he could not complain of the manner in which the German official Press had expressed itself with regard to him. That he admitted, and expressed his gratitude.

PARIS, May 13, 1883.

"Le prodige de ce grand départ céleste qu'on appelle la mort, c'est que ceux qui partent, ne s'éloignent pas. Oh, qui que vous soyez qui avez vu s'évanouir dans la tombe un être cher, ne vous croyez pas quitté par lui. Il est toujours là. Il est à côté de vous plus que jamais. L'être pleuré est disparu, non parti. Les morts sont les invisibles, mais ils ne sont pas les absents."

— VICTOR HUGO.

The *Rappel* to-day reported Vacquerie's speech at Madame Drouot's funeral. In it he quoted these words.

PARIS, May 22, 1883.

This morning I had a letter from Count Seckendorff, who, to my surprise, informed me that the Crown Princess, who was only to have come to-morrow, has arrived to-day, and is at the Hôtel Bristol, and that she was expecting me at one o'clock. I drove there, stayed to *déjeuner*, and discussed with her what was to be done during the three days. As I dine with Ferry to-morrow, I proposed to her that she should dine at the Embassy on Friday. She accepted, but wishes it only to be a little dinner. On Thursday I shall give the Crown Princess a dinner at St. Germain.

PARIS, May 24, 1883.

At half-past three yesterday the Crown Princess arrived at the Embassy. The staff were presented to her, and the reception continued for some time, partly in the garden, partly in the library. Afterwards the Crown Princess drove to the Exhibition

without me, and in the evening I dined at Ferry's. Princess Victoria went with a lady-in-waiting, Villaume and Vitztum, to the Hippodrome, where she is said to have enjoyed herself very much. To-day Lord Lyons gave lunch to the Crown Princess, as he is not able to invite her to dinner owing to the banquet he is giving to the English colony. So at half-past five to-day the expedition to St. Germain will be undertaken, and I am looking forward to it with some apprehension. Rural excursions with royal personages are not exactly among the pleasant things of life.

On Saturday the Royalties leave again.

PARIS, July 1, 1883.

I had accepted an invitation from the Marquise de Saint Clou, who lives quite near us, for yesterday evening; there was "*musique*" on the card. The drawing-room was badly lighted and the company rather somnolent. I asked for an introduction to the Duchess of Mirepoix, whom I probably knew already. She was conspicuous for her dazzling white stockings, in shoes that almost reminded one of paws. Then the Duke came, was introduced to me, and spoke feelingly of Arnim. Among the other guests were Madame de Reculot, Madame de Croy, Madame de Roche-Aymon, de Janzé, and others; then Gurowsky, Arthur Meyer, and many nobodies. The music was produced by the performance of a piano virtuoso, named Macaluso, I believe. An ordinary-looking man, who only played his own compositions. These consisted of first crawling about the keys very softly for about ten minutes as if he could hardly move his fingers, and then finishing up with a deafening drumming that lasted about five minutes, which was the more welcome because during the first part, owing to the heat, the whole company were on the verge of slumber. I took a Legitimist lady, *dame d'honneur de la Comtesse de Chambord*, in to supper, and disappeared at half-past eleven.

As I was sitting in the garden yesterday after dinner and reading in the fading light, I suddenly saw a rat under my table. However, I had no pistol in my hand. Up to now I have only killed one, which uttered such a piteous cry that it made me quite sorry for it.

Blowitz publishes an article to-day in which, discussing the various Ministers of the Foreign Office, he also alludes to me, and says: "That great and honest friend of peace and mutual toleration, who has for France all the affection consistent with his position and his duty." Challemel-Lacour* comes off badly in his article. He declares that the diplomatists hated him. I know nothing of it. To me he was always a sympathetic personality.

* Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Ferry Cabinet.

PARIS, July 2, 1883.

Blowitz was here, to talk over the news of the illness of the Count de Chambord. He wishes to write an article, and, so it appears, agitate for the Orléans cause. He asked me whether we regarded the Orléans party as a greater danger to peace than the Republic. I gave him a definitely affirmative reply. Blowitz was not pleased, because he wants to conduct a campaign for the Orléans cause. But he resigned himself, and said that, from the German standpoint, perhaps we were right. He said he had definite grounds for believing that the Orléans princes would issue no manifesto. If they did so their banishment was certain. If the Republic banished them before they had done anything it would be a great mistake. "I think," he added, "that just because it would be so stupid the Republican Government will do it." Then he spoke of Challemel-Lacour and his article against him. He declares that Challemel-Lacour is a danger to France. He was so hated in England, and was so disagreeable in the conduct of diplomatic business, that even Lord Lyons went to him as little as possible. If this should continue and if Challemel-Lacour and the section of the press that he controls proceeded to irritate England, England would eventually join the Triple Alliance, and this quadruple alliance would crush France *comme une puce*.

PARIS, July 23, 1883.

The so-called Armée du Salut, a society founded in England by the Wesleyans or Booth Methodists, which has made it its aim to combat sin, and has a military organisation, has had a branch in Paris for the last two years, and holds its meetings in a distant part of the city. I was curious to see what these meetings were like, and drove yesterday evening, with Schwartzkoppen, after dining with Marie, to the place. It is in the Quai de Valmy, on the Canal St. Martin, in one of the remotest parts of Paris. We arrived there before half-past eight. It is a plain room with seats and a platform, upon which stand a piano and a number of chairs. It was empty when we arrived. From behind a partition in the upper part of the room singing and speaking could be heard. I asked a woman sitting by me what was going on there, to which she replied: "*Ils prient*." It was the officers and converts preparing for the meeting. At half-past eight the singing stopped, and the officers and their companions came down. First came a few young girls, with black dresses and red collars on which the letter "S" was embroidered. Those were officers of the various ranks. Then a few middle-aged men, wearing black military blouses and the distinguishing mark; and, last of all, a few old women and children and several young men in poor clothing. They came in without any ceremony, seated themselves on chairs on the platform, and held their hands before their faces in

prayer. Then a happy-looking young person of about twenty years of age, in the above-mentioned costume, and with a black straw hat upon her head, stepped to the front of the platform, and in rather English-French said: "We will sing the *cantique premier*." The first verse ran:

Nous voulons marcher vers le ciel:
Voulez-vous venir?
Jourir d'un salut éternel —
Voulez-vous venir?

After four verses had been sung, part of the audience joining in, the young person came forward again and gave an address, in which she invited her hearers to come to Jesus and renounce a sinful life. Then another *cantique* was sung, and then a poor-looking man, in an overcoat, about forty years of age, came forward and gave a similar address, in which he spoke of the slavery of sin, from which he had now freed himself since he had come to Jesus. All very earnest and sincere. This last speaker was a Frenchman. Then came a young man and related that he had been with the Armée du Salut for some time in Geneva, and that he brought greeting from friends there. Then another *cantique*. Then came a lady in uniform, and with a rather pronounced German accent gave an address and a warning to them to be converted. Jesus had washed her too in His Blood and she was happy. She was followed by a rather dirtily-dressed young man, perhaps a clerk, who likewise declared that he had turned from the world, and called upon those present to renounce sin. Then singing again. At last it was announced that Miss Charleston would speak. This was a pretty little person, hardly twenty years of age, with a pale face. Her address was the same mixture of pietistic mysticism, but was delivered with such modesty and attraction that she reaped general applause. After a few more hymns and addresses a young lady in uniform with a rather red nose, and looking as though she had a very bad cold, announced that Miss Booth — or, as she said, *la Maréchale* — was ill, and asked the hearers to pray for her. We should very much have liked to hear Miss Booth. She manages the Paris Committee of the Armée du Salut, and is the daughter of the Mr. Booth in London. The young lady announced further that the second part of the meeting was about to begin, in which only those who wished to be converted were to take part. As this was not our purpose, we came away. The audience had meanwhile grown to very large dimensions. Besides a few people of the educated classes, who had come from curiosity, I saw many workmen and their families, probably people from the neighbourhood, who did not know what else to do with their Sunday evening. Some seemed to be converted and reverent; all were well-behaved and quiet. The singing was accompanied by a wind instrument, blown by a male member of the Army in uniform, and by a violin,

played by a young lady in uniform. The tunes were of a tolerably cheerful character. The confidence, the self-security, and the honesty of purpose that is evinced by all these female officers is marvellous. Their appearance of poverty may perhaps also help to bring home their words to the poorer classes. I have rarely seen anything more extraordinary than this evening meeting of the Armée du Salut in Paris.

Courcel, who has arrived here from Berlin, was talking to me to-day about the article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.* He is horrified, and interprets it as a threat. I told him that the article did not surprise me, that I had expected it, nor could I say that I thought it unjust. Courcel, on the contrary, maintains that it is wrong for the article to judge all the French by the same standard, whereas it is only a small section of the press that is guilty. I replied to him that the entire press, without exception, were writing articles in reply, and quoted some to him. I had done my best to represent the articles as isolated events, and had likewise attempted to appease the German correspondents, but the matter had gradually assumed too great proportions, and the article was not unjust.

Courcel said that France was being constantly threatened by the new formation of the frontier. From Metz we could be before Paris at once. That was disturbing, and might even drive the French to strike in desperation. They could not, however, think of beginning a war against us. Courcel says that Challemeil-Lacour is very "*blessé*" by the article, as he also was by the article upon the Triple Alliance during the past winter. The German press is much more virulent than the French.

GASTEIN, September 6, 1883.

Left Aussee at one o'clock on the 5th. In the saloon compartment I met quite a number of people — amongst others, the Roumanian Minister Bratiano. At Lend I found my carriage waiting for me, and drove off at once. It was a cold drive. I arrived at Gastein towards half-past nine and wrote a few words to Herbert Bismarck, who then came and told me that his father would see me the next day at a quarter past twelve. We spoke of all sorts of things — of the French, the English, and the Russians, of the latter's armaments, of the opposition of Prince Alexander to Russia. I went to bed at eleven o'clock, dreamt all sorts of horrible things, and woke at six o'clock. I dressed, took a bath, and went to breakfast on the promenade. Later I met with Beust in front of the hotel, and

* Under the provocation of the action of the Strassburg Government against the veterinary surgeon Antoine at Metz, there had been a general outburst of Germanophobia. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* had replied to this on August 22 by pointing out, in menacing terms, the danger there was to the peace in the unmeasured violence of the French love of retaliation.

went for a walk with him. At half-past twelve I went to Bismarck. I thought him thinner, but looking well, and mentally unchanged. He was indignant at the *Times* articles, which are inciting France against us. He wants steps to be taken in the newspaper against them. "We," said he, "want nothing from France." A war would not benefit us. Money might, but you don't make war for that. We had too many French subjects already. Then he began to talk of the Russian armaments, and said: "They certainly always make fair speeches, but they go on arming and are always equipped, ready for war, on the frontier. What is the use of fair words if at the same time a pistol is levelled at my breast? This sort of thing cannot go on. It is true they say it is only a question of Austria; but we cannot allow Austria to be overthrown or enfeebled. If we stood by and looked on without helping, the result would be that after the war a triple alliance of Russia, Austria, and France would be formed against us. Whoever cannot keep quiet in Europe is a menace to peace, a disturber of the peace." It seems to me that Bismarck is anxious now to extend our alliances further and further. The presence of Bratiano, whom he has summoned to Gastein, points to an alliance with Roumania. He is anxiously watching Bulgaria, where the Prince is now beginning to show his teeth to Russia. He says he is in the right. The Prince of Montenegro wants Herzegovina, and in return will engage to keep order in Albania for Turkey. Karageorgevitch wants to be Prince of Bulgaria, in order to get Servia. Such is Russian intrigue in the Balkan peninsula. We were interrupted by the arrival of Bratiano. The Prince introduced us.

BERLIN, *October 24, 1883.*

According to the information I have obtained in the Foreign Office, the Imperial Chancellor seems to be anxious to proceed cautiously and tenderly with Rome. Consequently the scandal with the Cardinal was very inopportune.* Bismarck was against the lending of a regiment to the King of Spain,† because he foresaw that it would mean unpleasantness for him with France and because he saw in the project a "sort of higher peasant-catching." As far as Russia is concerned, the Chancellor is not going to provoke war, and hopes that he will find it possible to bring about an understanding between Austria and Russia on the question of their Balkan interests.

* At the beginning of October Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe, after inquiring into the removal from office of an Archbishop of Albano, had left Rome, ostensibly without leave of absence. He had called upon the Italian Ambassador and Döllinger at Munich, which had roused the Ultramontane Press to virulent attacks.

† King Alfonso had taken part in the September manœuvres at Homburg. The Emperor lent him the Strasburg regiment of Uhlans. The consequence was an outburst of anger in the French Press and abuse of the King when he went through Paris.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, *October 26, 1883.*

I arrived here to-night in consequence of a telegraphic summons from the Imperial Chancellor. The Prince looked well, but complained that he is not yet properly fit for work. I told him about the Cardinal, explained what could be explained, and was listened to kindly and sympathetically. I was not, however, met with the expression of a wish to see him in Berlin. The Prince's attitude was silent, but kind. It seems to me that the visit would not quite suit his purpose just now. Then there came a long letter from the Crown Prince about his Spanish journey,* to which the Prince immediately replied. At half-past nine he went to bed. Later on I went down to drink tea with the Princess, and to have a talk with her and with Rantzau.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, *October 27, 1883.*

The Imperial Chancellor came to me this morning, and began talking about the letter that he received yesterday from the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince is anxious to go to Spain, and the Chancellor is in favour of the idea. But now the Crown Princess wants to go as well, and to this Bismarck thinks the Emperor will not agree. The Crown Prince is also anxious to take Count Hatzfeld with him. The Chancellor is consequently indignant. How could such an idea occur to any one! It would be said at once that we had such desperate purposes to carry through in Madrid that it was imperatively necessary for the Foreign Minister to be present as well. It would be just as if Lord Granville were to accompany the Prince of Wales on a journey. "But that is like Hatzfeld," said Bismarck. "It is his laziness! He does little enough at the best of times, &c., dictates memoirs, and I have to correct the copy." I let the Prince talk, because I was afraid that contradiction would only irritate him more. "Besides which," said the Prince, "I want to be relieved of business. I ought to have gone in 1877. Perhaps in that case I should have been in good health to-day. I cannot work any more, and the blood flies easily to my head. That might bring on apoplexy." I suggested: "Perhaps you might work less and take things more easily. The all-important thing is that you should remain at the head of affairs." To that he objected that it would not do. He could not subscribe his name to documents that were not drawn up according to his mind. Then he began to talk about France. When I said to him that Saburoff had told me the Prince made a "*distinction entre le Comte de Paris et le Duc d'Aumale*," he laughed, and said it was true, but it did not mean that we were going to alter our policy. We were against the monarchy, as we had always been. We were on good terms with France, the Chauvinistic provocations we leave unnoticed, and in

* Which was projected as a reply to the insults to King Alfonso in Paris, and was carried out between November 17 and December 14.

colonial policy we were advancing the wishes of France. Relations with Russia were good. Bismarck would have liked the meeting of the Emperors to have taken place. But he had been too ill himself to move in the matter. He said that we must, above all things, keep the Hungarian and Polish Hotspurs in order, so that they would not proceed against Russia. A war with Russia, in which we should have to side with Austria, would be a misfortune, for we could gain nothing — should not even get our war expenses. Then the war would also oblige us eventually to re-establish the kingdom of Poland as far as the Dwina and the Dnieper. We should certainly not revolutionise Poland, but should be obliged to allow Austria to proclaim an archduke, if she had one, King of Poland. And that would lead to another alliance of the Imperial Powers against this kingdom, which would bring us back to the alliance of the three Emperors. But for the time being we must aim at preventing the whole contingency. When I spoke of the dissatisfaction of the Russians at the failure of the proposed loan from the Berlin bankers, and Bleichröder's refusal, he laughed. It was foolish to talk like that. Russia would get no money because no one had any confidence in Russian affairs. Otherwise, they would be able to get money enough from France and England, and would not need the Berlin bankers.

After the Prince had been sitting with me for about three-quarters of an hour he said that his head had got hot again, and that he would be obliged to go for a walk by himself. Then he showed me a few things in the house, and went for a walk in the park.

He leaves the question of the consul in Paris to me to decide. He had objected to the consul in Paris, but it was all a matter of personal character. To my question as to whether he was not afraid that the French would appoint a consul to Berlin he replied that he did not mind if they did; we had consuls at Stettin and other places.

When we met again some time later in the drawing-room he spoke of Mukhtar Pasha,* who had come to solicit the influence of the Imperial Chancellor in protecting the Turks against English encroachments. The Prince had set his face against all such intervention, and advised Mukhtar to apply to France upon the Egyptian matter. In Bulgaria they must help themselves. And if Armenia was used as a weapon against them, they were to "*envoyer promener les Anglais*," or, if it were plainer to him, to tell them to "*d'aller se faire j—— ailleurs*." That pleased the Turk. He said of Gladstone: "A fine speaker, but a stupid fellow."

Drove in the forest with Rantzau in the afternoon. Rantzau told me of his passionate love of sport, whereupon I invited him to shoot with us at Aussee next year.

* On October 9.

In the evening back to Hamburg. Bismarck's last and farewell words: "Deal gently with the young man Absalom."

·BERLIN, October 29, 1883.

Back from Friedrichsruh yesterday afternoon. Interview to-day with Baron Cohn, who wishes for a Bavarian Grand Cross. Then wrote letters in the morning at one o'clock to Saburoff, who complained bitterly of Kalnoky's speech.* He said that the contention that in a war with Russia Austria would not stand alone was not in agreement with what was stated to the Emperor of Russia in 1879. He could not believe that any further arrangement had been made subsequently. Moreover, Kalnoky had reproached the Russians with being *impuissants* and afraid, and this would produce the worst possible effect in Russia. He did not wish to talk the matter over with Busch, but would be grateful if I would bring his opinion of the pronouncement to the notice of the Foreign Office. I repeated the conversation to Hatzfeld and Busch. Holstein advised me to put it down on paper, which I did. Then we sent it to the Prince. Holstein thought the speech would be a useful hint to Russia.

At half-past four I was summoned to the Emperor. He told me all sorts of things about Homburg, extolled the King of Spain, said that the telegram that had appeared in the newspapers, in which he is supposed to have said that he knew quite well the insults were directed against Germany, was an invention. The King of Spain had assured him that he would side with Germany if France made war upon us, to which the Emperor had replied that he was young and hasty, and should consider the matter carefully. We should be well satisfied with a benevolent neutrality. Then our relations with Russia came under discussion. The Emperor of Russia had made him the most promising assurances, and he believed in their sincerity. He had told Giers that he might suggest any policy to him so long as it was not a policy that might lead to war with Germany. That was all very satisfactory, only it was not incompatible with the array of troops on the frontier, and so he had advised the Emperor, through Dolgoruky, to lessen the number of troops on the frontier. He would raise no objections to the construction of railways and fortresses. But the cavalry on the frontier was a very grave symptom. The Emperor went on talking in the same strain until he noticed that it was five o'clock, when he released me, to go upstairs to the other guests. He followed soon after himself, and we went to dinner, at which the Ministers and several generals were present. After dinner

* In the Delegations. Count Kalnoky had complained of the attitude of the Russian Press, and said that if Russia were to attack her Austria would not stand alone.

Baron Cohn came up to me and told me about the business he had done for the Emperor.

PARIS, *November 4, 1883.*

Called on M. Grévy to-day. I did not omit, in the course of conversation, to say that no alteration in the opinions of the Imperial Government with regard to the French Republic had taken place, and that we still wished to continue the same friendly relations with the Republic as before. M. Grévy replied that this was likewise the wish of the French government, and that the latter fully appreciated the kindly attitude which Germany had maintained for the last thirteen years. When I alluded to the hopes of the Monarchists, and the rumours here current of the dangers which are supposed to threaten the Republic, he answered, with an animation unusual to him, that that was only the opinion of the reactionaries. The Republic was still the form of State that appealed to the French people, and to which it clung. The elections proved this. The objection that the elections were not the true expression of the opinion of the country was baseless. The spirit of the French nation was permeated by the principle of equality, and was absolutely democratic. Whoever attempted to oppose this democratic stream and its *égalité* would be crushed. The danger to the Republic did not lie among the few impotent Monarchists, but among the Anarchists. Against these latter the government would have to summon all its forces. They disturbed and hindered the tranquil development of the country. The government, however, was hampered in its task by the inadequacy of the press legislation. A restoration, if it were attempted, and were successful, would not be of any duration. For that matter, it would be quite impossible, as in France constitutional change was impossible, unless introduced by those in power, and the Monarchists had no power.

Prince Orloff, who called on me to-day, spoke of the disturbing rumours on the Bourse of war with Russia, and declares that this is a phenomenon which constantly recurs when, after the harvest, the time arrives for the rouble to rise. As the Russian financiers and industrials were considerably interested in keeping the rouble down, they had hastened to fill the European money market with disquieting rumours, in which task they had succeeded.

Orloff expressed himself as reassured concerning matters here. He says that the Orleans princes would have very little chance, and he made fun of the news which Herr von Bleichröder brought back to Berlin from his journey to Paris, and which he took from a report by Herr von Saburoff. Prince Orloff says that Bleichröder expresses the opinions of the Rothschild firm, and the Rothschilds are biassed by the Legitimist and Orleanist environment in which they live, and labour under delusions. The Bonapartists had a better chance.

Jules Ferry was here this morning. I congratulated him on his victory,* and he said that the majority that he had gained would give the necessary stability to the ministry. He sees, as Grévy does, danger in the irreconcilables (*Intransigeants*), and he too regards a monarchical restoration as impossible. A monarchy would have to contend with all the difficulties with which the present Government is confronted, and with others in addition. As an instance of the danger from the irreconcilables, he quoted the scenes of the arrival of the King of Spain. He remarked that the matter had not at all displeased the King, as he had quite realised the advantage he would gain therefrom in his own country. Challemel-Lacour is not going to retire, but is going to Cannes for a time to see if he can get better. Meanwhile he will himself lead the interim government. No change of ambassadors is contemplated.

PARIS, *November 7, 1883.*

Challemel-Lacour says that the negotiations between the Government of the Hovas † and Admiral Galibert have not yet been resumed. The delegates from Antananarivo have gone to Tamatave, but the General was away. France is willing to come to an understanding with the Hovas. Challemel-Lacour admits that France would derive no advantage from an occupation of Tamatave. I then inquired about the English intervention in the Chinese controversy. The minister knew nothing about that. Things are just the same as they were when I went away. The minister declares that he still does not know with whom he is to conduct negotiations. He went on to complain of the Chinese double-dealing.

BERLIN, *January 22, 1884.*

Left Paris on the evening of the 16th; arrived in Berlin on the 17th, at eight o'clock. Viktor and Philipp Ernst and Chariclée ‡ at the station. Supper at Philipp Ernst's. The Eighteenth chapter of the Order of the Black Eagle. Dinner at five o'clock in the afternoon, at court, with various knights of the Order. In the evening to the Renz Circus. On the 19th (Saturday) received and paid visits. Dined with the Crown Prince.

Sunday, festival of the Order, from half-past eleven till four o'clock. Then calls, and in the evening to Strauss's opera with all my relations.

Monday morning to Hatzfeld, who read me a letter from his cousin Hermann in Rome, in which, among other things, there was a passage in which he says that the Pope had said to him that since Hardenberg had been in Rome all difficulties had

* The vote of confidence in the Chamber (339 to 160 votes) in the debate on Tonking.

† In Madagascar.

‡ The Prince's daughter-in-law, *née* Princess Ypsilanti.

been removed. Leo XIII. will end by imagining that Bismarck will go to Rome!

FRIEDRICHSRUH, *January 23, 1883.*

Yesterday afternoon with the Emperor, who asked me questions about the revision of the Constitution in France,* and was very pleased with my report. He went on to talk about Russia and the Russian armaments. Afterwards he drove to Marie's, where he remained a long time.

To Friedberg this morning. He told me a good many things about the Crown Prince's visit to Spain, and the pains that had been taken by certain people to sow dissension between the Chancellor and the Crown Prince. He thinks it necessary for me to come to Friedrichsrüh. At half-past twelve to breakfast with the Crown Prince. He spoke sympathetically of the Orléans family, and so also did the Crown Princess. The Duc de Montpensier had been charged by the Comte de Paris to assure the Crown Prince that he cherished very peaceable sentiments, and, if he became king, would never make war. I remarked that I entertained no doubts as to the peaceable sentiments of the Orléans princes, but that I must nevertheless retain my opinion that the monarchy would strengthen France and place her in a better position to make alliances, and would threaten our alliances. The Imperial Chancellor thinks the same, especially as regards Austria, though he added that in that case we should have to cling the more closely to Russia. After breakfast I remained for a time with the Crown Prince, who expressed a very favourable opinion of the King of Spain, and said he thought he would regenerate Spain, if he could keep his throne. Manteuffel and Bismarck said this evening that it depended on whether the King had enough troops at his disposal to combat the revolution. The Crown Prince also spoke of Queen Isabella, and considers that she is a good woman, but a danger to the King, because she is erratic in her utterances. Then home again, and then, after some visitors had been to see us, went with Philipp Ernst, Chariclée and Marie to the station. Here at eight o'clock. Talked with Manteuffel, Bismarck, the Princess, and Countess Rantzau till ten o'clock; then both the gentlemen went to bed, and at eleven o'clock I went to the Princess to tea.

The Crown Prince commissioned me to deliver his compliments to the Comte de Paris, if I thought advisable; likewise to the Duc de Chartres.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, *January 24, 1884.*

This morning, I lunched with Manteuffel and Bismarck; the latter read out telegrams from Reuss touching Giers' presence in

* On December 30, 1883, Jules Ferry had announced in the Chamber that the coming year would bring constitutional reforms with it, and the Government would move the revision of the Constitution. On January 8, 1884, Andrieux had announced a motion for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly.

Vienna. Giers is anxious and nervous and returns to St. Petersburg with sorrow, as Saburoff has made his position there very difficult. The latter will not go to London, but remain in Berlin. Orloff, however, will come to Berlin all the same, Mohrenheim remain in London, and Saburoff come to Paris, which the Imperial Chancellor regrets.

Speaking on the Tongking question, Bismarck said that I ought to give out quite openly in Paris that we shall act loyally towards France, that we shall allow nothing to turn us from our neutrality, whether France makes war on land or on sea. Tattenbach is to be disavowed. The Prince is of opinion that France ought to act energetically and occupy some of the islands.

PARIS, *February 3, 1884.*

Called upon Grévy to-day. After I had delivered the Emperor's and Bismarck's messages, he talked first about the Emperor, the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess, the Empress of Austria, and all sorts of things. I then brought the conversation back to the Emperor, and spoke of the satisfaction that his Majesty felt at the calming of public opinion in Germany and France.

CHANTILLY, *June 18, 1884.*

On my return to Paris,* I found an invitation from the Duc d'Aumale to Chantilly for June 17, which I accepted. Yesterday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, I drove with Bülow, who was also invited, to the station. There we met the Marquis de Beauvoir and his wife, and travelled in the same compartment. Menabrea was in the same train, with his wife, the Duc and Duchesse de Rivoli, Sardou, the Duc de Rivière, and some other gentlemen and ladies. Arrived at Chantilly, we found the Duke, who was meeting the Duchess of Chartres by the same train. I took my seat in an open carriage with her, the Marquise Menabrea, and the Duc d'Aumale; the others followed, and the whole company drove to the great stables, where there is room for two hundred horses, and then to the castle. We assembled in a large gallery with very fine pictures. There introductions were made, and then we went into the various rooms to see the curios. The Duke explained everything in detail. In a little rotunda we found the masterpieces, amongst them a very fine Raffael, several Greuzes, Salvator Rosas, and some paintings by Decamps, de la Roche, and others. After seeing all this the gentlemen went into the library, and we smoked. At half-past seven I went to my room, a very handsome *salon*, with a picture of the Duke of Bonnat and various Condé pictures. Louis Joseph de Bourbon, whose circular letter I have so often seen at Schillingsfürst, hung there as well — a man in scarlet uniform, with a pleasant face. He was the Duc de Condé, and usually signed

* After a visit to Schillingsfürst.

himself "Bourbon." Dinner at eight o'clock. I took in the Duchesse de Chartres, and sat between her and her daughter, the Princess Amélie.* The latter is certainly not pretty, but she is attractive, well-bred, and lively — one of the nicest princesses I have met. During dinner an orchestra played old pieces by Grétry, Gluck, and some modern pieces. It was not too loud, so was not disturbing. The dining-room is magnificent — great tapestries from the Condé days, and brown wood-panelling, gilded. After dinner we went back again into the other drawing-room, all white and gold, Louis XIV. style; pictures of the great Condé's battles, his arms, trophies, &c. Then again into the library, where the Duke told stories and smoked his pipe.

At eleven o'clock back to the ladies; then tea and good-night. The castle is really quite uncommon, and richly and harmoniously furnished. One could write volumes about it.

Back to Paris at ten o'clock this morning.

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

PARIS, June 22, 1884.

A diplomatist, formerly very well known here, to-day related to me the following:

"A few days ago I was at the house of my friend the Duc de Decazes, who told me that the time was not now far off when France would be sick of the Republic, and the Monarchy would be re-established. Everything has been prepared, and the only thing that is wanted is a Monk; 'and him we have already,' he added. I did not ask his name, but have no doubt that he meant Gallifet. An interview which I had afterwards with Gallifet confirmed my supposition. The General says that the French nation are afraid of war, and for the moment believe that Germany is going to declare war against France, if the Monarchy takes the place of the Republic. He added that this used to be true enough, but was so no longer. The opinion of Prince Bismarck had altered. His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince, as well as Bismarck, no longer saw any danger in the re-establishment of the Monarchy. The only thing now wanting was to get a public expression of this opinion. The General is of opinion that an article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* attacking the Republic would be enough to alienate the French nation from the Republic and reconcile it with the Monarchy. Such an article immediately before the elections would result in the return of a Conservative Chamber. When this is assembled, his (the General's) rôle as *exécuteur de la volonté nationale* begins. The Republican party will undoubtedly raise violent opposition, but he will put it down, for he is firmly determined to hang the leaders. France must be governed for eighteen months without a Chamber and without freedom of the press; then the Comte de Paris can come along *avec son parapluie*

* Born 1865; married Prince Valdemar of Denmark in 1885.

and govern liberally. I am certainly convinced that General Gallifet is exaggerating, and is not very careful of the truth; but I have had other opportunities of discovering that there is a great deal of conspiracy going on here, and I am beginning to believe that the Republic will not last much longer. Gallifet thought that "in two years he would have played his part." Thus far my informant, who remarked further: "If Gallifet goes on publishing his plans so innocently, he will be rendered harmless before then."

From the above it is evident how anxious the Monarchist party is to win Germany's support, and how convinced they are that the Republic only subsists through the goodwill of Germany.

Journal.

PARIS, July 16, 1884.

The festivities of July 14 would have passed without comment, but for the scandal with the flags at the Hôtel Continental.* It was only yesterday morning that I heard what had happened the day before. At once sent a telegraphic report to Berlin. At six o'clock in the evening Ferry arrived, but did not find me in. He came again this morning and expressed his regret, also informed me that the Commissary of Police who has shown himself so weak, had been removed. This afternoon a Würtemberger, Dr. Wurster, from Reutlingen, came and told me it was he who had taken refuge in the Ministry of Naval Affairs. He was just passing the Strassburg statue when the demonstration was taking place, and watched everything very carefully. As he was wearing the so-called "shooting coat" and looked very German, he was recognised as a German at once and abused. Gradually the insults grew worse, he was hustled and struck, and then fled to the Ministry for Naval Affairs. The people ran after him, for by this time it was reported that he had said or done something hostile. He had been very quiet, however. I told all this to Ferry.

PARIS, August 24, 1884.

Courcel was back in Berlin yesterday,† and brought with him Ferry's consent to the understanding, which is certainly not an alliance, but a considerable *rapprochement*. In the West African question action will be in concert and also with reference to the various Egyptian questions, such as quarantines, the Suez Canal, liquidation commissions, &c., and so forth. He denies that he will ask for Germany's mediation, as is asserted here, with China.

BERLIN, November 2, 1884.

This morning, church. Then the Foreign Office, where I studied the matter of the West Coast of Africa. I was interrupted

* The German flag was torn down by young men.

† On the 26th he had been at Varzin.

in this occupation by a letter from the Adjutant, summoning me to the Emperor at half-past three. I thought the Emperor surprisingly well and cheerful, and remained an hour. He spoke of the satisfactory relations with France, and smiled. Then he spoke about England, and lamented the Radical tendencies of the Government and Chamberlain's intention of carrying the Reform Bill by creating a number of peers.* That disquiets him, and he is afraid that the Republican movement may gain the upper hand in England. What would be the outcome? "We shall have trouble in retaining our position." It was consequently necessary that, at any rate, the three Imperial Powers should unite to defend the monarchical principle. That was also the main reason for the meeting at Skiernevitze.† Prince Wilhelm‡ had exerted a very good influence over the Emperor of Russia. The Emperor and Bismarck had given the Prince instructions to advocate the union of the three Imperial Powers, and he had accomplished this very creditably. So that, when the visit of the Emperor of Austria was decided, he, the Emperor Wilhelm, had also expressed a wish to be present. No documentary agreement had been drafted, nor was any necessary. We then spoke of the opening of the Polytechnic School, at which the Emperor was present, and of the revival that is apparent in Berlin, and so forth. At six o'clock I dined at Bismarck's. Conversation turned upon the Emperor's words with regard to the Skiernevitze meeting, and Bismarck said the Emperor was making a mistake when he said that he had expressed a wish to be present. That had been an understood thing. The only difficulty had been in Vienna and with Hungary. The Empress always wanted to know what had been arranged at Skiernevitze, and had worried the Emperor about it. When I took my leave, he gave me his compliments for Ferry, whom he holds in high esteem. I am to say that we do not desire any friction between England and France. Gladstone may remain in office. It will be good for us, not for England.

PARIS, *December 11, 1884.*

Ferry says that the Chinese Government have communicated their conditions to Lord Granville, but that Lord Granville has scruples about placing them before France, as they are impossible of acceptance. The same claims as before — the retention of the Chinese suzerainty over Annam, division of Tongking, and so forth. The intentions of Li Hung Chang are pacific, even if his actions are not.

As far as Egypt is concerned, so Ferry says, Alphonse Rothschild regards the transference of the control of the debts and the

* The Franchise Reform Bill.

† The meeting of the three Emperors at Skiernevitze took place September 15-17.

‡ Who at the coming of age celebrations of the heir to the throne, May 18, had represented the Emperor.

Crown lands to England as impossible of acceptance. He himself regards the matter in the same light, and says that six thousand officials of French nationality would be deprived of their bread by this proposal.

December 18.

I had applied for leave of absence at the proper time, and had proposed that Kiderlen should carry on business until the return of Baron Rotenhan, and was now awaiting a reply from Berlin. On the 16th inst. a telegram arrived, to the following effect: "Hatzfeld is rather inclined to dissuade. I also. Holstein." That meant it was not advisable to go on leave at present. I therefore wrote to Viktor and begged of him to learn at the Foreign Office what was wrong and to telegraph to me. I also wrote to Marie, and telegraphed the next day. Then yesterday a communication came saying the Chancellor could not place my application for leave of absence before the Emperor until Rotenhan was back. I might have telegraphed to recall him, but that was not the question. There were other things to take into account which rendered it expedient to give up the journey. I therefore wrote to Berlin and withdrew my application for leave. I believe that Prince Bismarck is suffering from nervous irritability, and that consequently all his subordinates are mystified and frightened and see more behind his utterances than is really there. This, however, alters nothing for me.

THE EMPEROR to PRINCE HOHENLOHE: *Telegram.*

March 27, 1885.

Heartfelt thanks for your loyal good wishes for March 22. Unfortunately I have entered on my eighty-ninth year ill, and thereby much disturbed the due celebration of the day. It was a real joy to have seen the Princess here.

WILHELM.

Journal.

PARIS, *April 1, 1885.*

The Emperor's birthday on the 22nd passed by as usual. The dinner-party of fifty-four persons was very lively. My speech was applauded. We remained together smoking until late.

Since then a Ministerial crisis, the fall of Ferry, unexpected and without obvious reason.

To-day a dinner in honour of the Imperial Chancellor. I drank to the Emperor's health. Herr Rumpf made a speech on Bismarck. Herr Lüderer read aloud a telegram to Bismarck, which was adopted. Then Herr Grube proposed a toast to myself. I replied (hoarsely) that I knew how to value the approbation of the people of Germany,* that it was a great honour

* The German colony in Paris had congratulated the Prince on May 23, 1884 — the tenth anniversary of his having taken over the embassy — by offering an address and a present consisting of a silver inkpot with a view of the Niederwald monument.

for my name to be mentioned conjointly with the names of the Emperor and of Bismarck, but that my modesty did not extend so far as to say it was too great an honour. For with regard to the national development I might also say *quorum pars*, if not *magna pars*, still *quorum pars fui*. That the Germans should have pronounced their approval of me, that they had done me the honour of naming me to-day, that they had recalled old memories — for all this I was most grateful to them, and could not better express my thanks than by proposing the health of my German friends here present. Great enthusiasm. Then home.

The Freycinet Ministry* appears to be formed. Courcel will take office. Who will replace him? That is an important question.

PARIS, March 22, 1885.

To-day Darenthall sent me intelligence, probably emanating from Barrère, of an ultimatum of the French Government to Egypt about the suppressed newspaper *Bosphore*,† and of an eventual French occupation of Damietta. Freycinet, whom I cautiously sounded, pretended to know nothing of an ultimatum. Barrère may, indeed, have made the proposal; Freycinet may have given no answer. Freycinet said all rumours of conflict were exaggerated. Waddington‡ said the same thing, and thought he would arrange the matter in London. It is an affair between Baring and Barrère, whose wives do not harmonise, as Lady Baring does not accept the Armenian wife of Barrère “as coin current.” The matter in itself is unimportant.

PARIS, May 23, 1885.

Yesterday at 1.30 o'clock Victor Hugo died. I drove to the Avenue Eylau to make inquiries, and learnt there the news. Great funeral ceremonials are being prepared. I think that the Diplomatic Corps will not have anything to do with them. And I am determined in any case not to take any part in them.

May 31.

Since yesterday the body of Victor Hugo has been placed on a catafalque under the vault of the Arc de Triomphe. All day long people have defiled past the catafalque, and the square was covered by thousands of people. This increased towards evening, and when I arrived, about nine o'clock, the press was frightful.

* The Ferry Ministry was overthrown in consequence of the defeat at Langson on March 30. On April 6 the Brisson Ministry was formed, in which Freycinet took over the Foreign Office. Freycinet's endeavour to form a ministry himself miscarried.

† On April 9 the French Government protested against the closing of the printing office of the *Bosphore Egyptien*, decreed by the Egyptian Government. On April 27 an agreement was concluded.

‡ Then French Ambassador in London.

People were all in the best of good humour, pushed and shouted as at an annual fair, and gazed at the triumphal arch and regretted that it was not better lighted up. Many, indeed, seemed to expect fireworks. It gave one, indeed, a remarkable impression. The triumphal arch, from which a long black mourning crape waved; below the catafalque, the whole picture defined against the clear, moonlit sky, and close by the tumultuous throng of human beings, who quite forgot that there a dead man lay. To-morrow the burial will take place. I have not begged to be excused, as we were not formally invited, but only were assigned places. It would, however, have been as tactless as undignified of me to take any part in the funeral procession of the poet of the *année terrible* — the vain old man who said in Bordeaux in the year 1871 that he thanked the Germans for having driven out the French Emperor, and trusted that the French would render the Germans a similar service. Mohrenheim,* who had distinctly declared he would not go, asked me again in the evening what I intended to do, to which I replied that I had no thought of accompanying the procession.

June 2.

Yesterday's funeral ceremony for Victor Hugo was magnificent. No funeral procession in the proper acceptation of the word, but a national festival, with much pomp, and of a comparatively cheerful character. The speeches which were delivered at the Arc de l'Etoile and at the Panthéon were partly insignificant, partly pure nonsense. The entire population rejoiced at being able to show the whole world that they were burying a great man and still possessed one — which in this case is more than doubtful. The Austrian and Spanish Ambassadors who, like myself, refrained from any participation, were very indignant that we were represented by the newspapers as having been present, and even in uniform. I am quite indifferent on the subject.

PARIS, June 11, 1885.

In the spring I had begged for permission to go to the South of France for a week or fortnight. As, however, at the end of March, when I should have set out on the journey, the Ministerial crisis occurred here, I let Marie travel alone with Alexander, and wrote to the Chancellor of the Empire that I had given up the journey, but begged of him kindly to manage to get me three weeks' leave of absence in Germany for the end of May. Thereupon I received the reply that I might revert to my proposal in the middle of May. The Prince, if political conditions were favourable, would gladly support my proposition in the highest

* The Russian Ambassador, successor to Prince Orlov.

quarters. As everything was now quiet referring to this communication, I addressed, on May 12, an application for leave of absence to Bismarck. I thereupon received the reply from Hatzfeld on May 26 that the Emperor certainly granted me leave, but, nevertheless, had written the word "Unwillingly" on the margin, which the Chancellor of the Empire considered easy to understand in face of the Afghan, Egyptian, and other questions. He left it to my decision whether, under existing circumstances, I would take leave.

To this I replied on May 29 that I had not asked for leave as a relaxation, but on business. I had made my arrangements, and could not now postpone my departure; should, however, be within reach of a telegram at Schillingsfürst ready to return immediately. I begged of him to lay before the Emperor the state of the case and the reasons for my going.

Soon afterwards a letter came from Holstein, who wrote me that he advised me during the next few days not to quit Paris, where anything might happen. Hatzfeld was of the same opinion, and even thought I might summon my steward to Paris. Upon this I wrote to Holstein and said, if the Emperor preferred that I should not leave, I was to be wired to. I could not disarrange everything simply on the strength of his advice. After this I received on 3rd inst. a telegram from Hatzfeld announcing to me that the matter had been laid before the Emperor, and that he had annotated the statement with: "Read. So both my Ambassadors at the most important posts will perhaps be absent on the decisive day." Hatzfeld added: "Your Highness, I can only respectfully submit the decision to your own judgment." Nothing now remained for me but to telegraph that the word of his Majesty was for me a command, with which I would comply by remaining. In the meantime nothing happened. I therefore wrote to Hatzfeld on 8th inst., thanking him for the information imparted about my leave of absence, and saying I presumed that, his Majesty having consented to my taking it, there would be no need to renew the application to his Majesty in order to set out on this momentary leave. I would duly report it did I intend to make use of this leave.

Now to-day I receive a communication of the 9th inst., which had crossed my private letter to Hatzfeld, saying he had called the Emperor's attention to my announcement that I would not start, who declared that he agreed to my proposal, and at the same time gave his gracious permission that I should be authorised to set out on my leave of absence as soon as circumstances permitted. Then came these words: "At the same time his Majesty the Emperor was pleased to express his surprise that, according to your Highness's previous utterances, the postponement now actually taking place was impossible."

That was too much for me, and I consequently wrote the enclosed letter:

To BARON HOLSTEIN.

PARIS, June 12, 1885.

HONoured BARON, — I am a man of much patience, especially when there is a question of anything connected with the service of the Emperor, but by the communication of the 9th inst. this characteristic quality is put to a severe test. I declare that I obey the Emperor's commands, although the fact remains that this is to my disadvantage. I put aside my private affairs, as is expected from me, for the Imperial service, and as thanks the Foreign Office represents the Emperor as saying that according to my previous statements the present postponement would appear to have been impossible. Such a thing has hitherto never occurred. In any case, I do not believe that the Emperor made the remark as it is reported. As I know the Emperor, it is not like him to give utterance to such a jeer. He has far too much good feeling for such a thing.

I will end here, fearing to become too bitter. Perhaps I may one day have an opportunity of discussing *viva voce* with you the opinion which these incidents have obtruded on me.

Under the date June 21, 1885, Count Herbert Bismarck wrote to the Prince at Schillingsfürst on behalf of the Secretary of State:

After your Highness, under the date 15th of this month, had announced your intention to set out last Wednesday on your leave of absence to Bavaria, the Secretary of State did not fail to report it suitably to the Emperor, and to seize this opportunity of laying before his Imperial Majesty the reasons which necessitate your Highness's journey to Bavaria. His Majesty, in recognition of these reasons, has been pleased graciously to express his full concurrence in the granting of your leave of absence, of which I herewith do not fail to respectfully inform you.

Journal.

KISSINGEN, June 19, 1885.

I arrived here at midday. At a quarter to six o'clock I drove to the Saline, where Prince and Princess Bismarck are living. I thought the Prince very cheerful. He only complained of face-ache; boasted, however, that he could still walk a great deal, and looks well. He said of the Emperor that he would like to remain at Babelsberg, but that the Empress and Grand Duchess talked of Ems, which was distasteful to him. Then the conversation turned on Brunswick* and the nomination of Reuss as Duke. The Prince said that was nonsense. If the son of the Duke of Cumberland, under a good, safe guardianship, was not to be appointed, it was clearly a Prussian prince, possibly Prince

* Where Prince Albrecht of Prussia was chosen as Regent, October 21, 1884.

Heinrich or Prince Albrecht, who should be made Duke of Brunswick. After dinner the talk turned on the Governor of Alsace-Lorraine,* and Bismarck said that there were many candidates. Reuss VII., Prince Albrecht, Hermann Langenburg, Henckel, Roggenbach, Albedyll, Schweinitz, and so forth were objected to, and then he added, "Would you not like it?" I said, "Oh, yes; but there is the difficulty that I do not wear a military uniform." Bill opined this might be surmounted, but Bismarck said: "You could wear your ambassador's uniform; that will please the French, for you look very French." It appeared to me that he considered me, after all, the most suitable. He did not know, however, what the Emperor would decide. Then we talked of the English Ministry. Bismarck said that the Tories must inevitably bring about a war by their speeches. War would be no misfortune to us. We could only gain by it, if Russia had occupations which would divert her attention from Austria. Bismarck did not believe that the Turks would place an army at the disposal of England, but would open the Dardanelles. That the French would be terrified if war broke out between England and Russia amuses him greatly. They believed that we would then fall upon them, which would be very silly of us. He believed that the French would be driven more and more towards anarchy, and would end with a monarchy, which would, however, raise to the throne no Bonaparte or Orléans, but perhaps just some Monsieur Paturot or other. On the whole the conversation was satisfactory in tone and tenor.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *July 3, 1885.*

After I had confidentially assured myself during your Highness's visit to Kissingen that you would be agreeable to eventually assuming the Governorship at Strassburg, I addressed a proposition to the Emperor to confer on your Highness the succession to Field-Marshal von Manteuffel.

His Majesty has agreed to my proposal, and authorises me to ascertain your Highness's willingness. I beg of you, therefore, to honour me with an official reply, which I can forward to the highest quarters.

VON BISMARCK.

PRINCE HOHENLOHE *to the* IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

SCHILLINGSFÜRST, *July 7, 1885.*

I have had the honour of receiving your Highness's gracious letter of 3rd inst., in which your Highness informs me that his Majesty the Emperor has acceded to your proposition to appoint me as successor to Field-Marshal von Manteuffel. I take the

* Field Marshal von Manteuffel had died June 17, at Carlsbad.

liberty of expressing to your Highness my sincere gratitude for this fresh proof of your confidence, and beg of you to submit to his Majesty my most respectful thanks and my assurance that I am ready to accept the honourable post assigned to me. On account of my ignorance of the rights and duties connected with this post, I should like in the meantime to regard its acceptance merely as a matter of principle, and to stipulate that I may venture to acquaint myself more exactly with its conditions, so as to judge whether in point of fact I am equal to the functions in question. I therefore beg for permission to go at once to Berlin in order to ascertain the extent of the duties I must assume, as well as to confer personally about the moment of entering upon office. I take the liberty of begging the great favour of a telegraphic reply, to say that your Highness consents to my journey to Berlin.

PRINCE BISMARCK to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *July 8, 1885.*

With most grateful thanks for your letter, I rejoice to hear that you are willing to render the Emperor and the Empire the service required of you. The information you desire is not, however, to be obtained here. I myself, and, in a greater degree, all the other high officials, have these last five years been almost completely withdrawn from knowledge of the situation at Strassburg. Your Highness can only receive such information in Strassburg itself, and I venture to propose to you that you should go there in the least obtrusive manner possible, and there confer with the authorities, and disclose to them the confidential communication which I made to you in the Emperor's name. I particularly recommend you in this matter to the Under-Secretary of State, von Puttkamer, who has distinguished himself by his sagacity and knowledge of the country. Further, I mean by authorities the Secretary of State, von Hofmann, the Lieutenant-General, von Heuduck, and the Under-Secretary of State, von Mayr. In Ems your Highness would also find sources of information; but the people there might be influenced by the wish of bringing forward other candidates. I look upon the Under-Secretary of State, von Puttkamer, as being free from any such influence, and as taking only a neutral interest, and General von Heuduck will regard the separation of the chief command from the Governorship as assured by your Highness's nomination. The time for taking over the post will eventually chiefly depend on your Highness's decision, as it is immaterial whether the provisional order of things which must shortly be organised should continue a few weeks more or less.

VON BISMARCK.

In consequence of this letter Prince Hohenlohe decided, as he wished to avoid staying in a Strassburg hotel, to go at once to

Baden, and from there to collect the desired information from Strassburg. The visit to Strassburg took place July 12.

PRINCE BISMARCK *to* PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

VARZIN, *July 12, 1885.*

I have the honour, supplementing my telegram of to-day, to forward to your Highness the enclosed transcript of a most august autograph letter of the 10th inst., so far as it refers to the Governorship. Your Highness will gather from it that I myself think the need, from a business point of view, of a consultation between us is not so urgent as to require your Highness to undertake the long journey here from Schillingsfürst. In face of his Majesty's so clearly stated wishes, I see, however, no way of sparing you this discomfort, and my selfishness is consoled by the joyful prospect of having the pleasure of seeing you here. I beg of your Highness to arrange your journey quite to your own convenience, as any day will suit me, and I gather from his most august autograph letter that his Majesty does not desire to hurry on matters. Your Highness will have the goodness to acquaint me with the time of your arrival at Varzin.

VON BISMARCK.

[Copy.]

EMS, *July 10, 1885.*

From your letter of 8th inst. I observe Prince Hohenlohe's acceptance of the important post, and his gratitude for the projected trust. I consider the conditions laid down as quite natural, but I cannot say that I agree with your view that he should be released from consulting with you, for he can only thoroughly learn and understand your views through a verbal exposition of your ideas, and thus know where he stands, before he goes to Strassburg, should this be, on the whole, advisable, before he is appointed, because on the Prince's appearance there the matter will transpire officially, and then there can be no further question of a non-acceptance. I would therefore propose that Prince Hohenlohe, after Varzin, should meet the Minister Hofmann midway between Schillingsfürst and Strassburg. The taking up of his post by Prince Hohenlohe must not, in any case, be over-hurried, because I have granted to Field-Marshal von Manteuffel's surviving relatives the enjoyment of his income for three months — a sort of notice to quit, as the one possible way of helping them to security in their very bad financial position.

WILHELM.

Journal.

BADEN-BADEN, *July 13, 1885.*

At our conference in Munich about the Governorship, it turned out that the most important thing to learn was whether the Governorship would remain unchanged and what were the rules

as to a pension. Völderndorff was of opinion that the Governorship was simply a function, and not an appointment, so that I should have to be something else, in order that a Lord Chamberlain, a general, or an actual Privy Councillor should be charged with the function. On my visit to Strassburg Mayr* said, however, that this might formerly have been correct, but that it was no longer so, as by a new regulation the Governorship had become an office. Since old Manteuffel's death all communications ran thus: "To the Governor." It is true that Mayr admitted that a pension could not be inferred from the representative character of the Governor, and agreed with Völderndorff that this must be remedied. The emoluments of the representative amount to 215,000 marks, free fire and light, a porter and a gardener at the public cost. The Governor's palace is handsome, the garden extensive, the rooms lofty and large. The fittings will be renewed at the public expense. Silver, linen, and china are lacking. The Governor is granted leave of absence by the Emperor if he goes away for several weeks. He may absent himself for a short time without leave. The duties of the Representative are not so onerous as they were depicted. Fräulein von Manteuffel's evening receptions, having been a bore to officials and officers, may be abandoned. Dinner parties, balls, and large receptions must naturally be given. As to the time for taking up the appointment, it will be well not to do so before October 1, as Manteuffel's heirs are to have the quarter's salary of the defunct, so that, if I assumed office sooner, the country would have to pay twice over. Mayr, however, considered that delay beyond October 1 was scarcely possible, as in October are held the discussions of laws in the Council of State, at which the Governor presides, and the transactions consequent upon the passing of Bills and Budget commence with Berlin, the Chancellor of the Empire, and the Federal Council.

When I returned here yesterday from Strassburg, I found a telegram from the Chancellor of the Empire saying the Emperor wished me to have a conference with Bismarck by word of mouth. He begged of me to desist from taking any further steps, and to wait for a letter. I telegraphed that I had already spoken to Hofmann; that now, however, I would wait, and not report to the Emperor before knowing more. The letter should be here to-morrow.

In a letter from Baden of July 14 the Prince explained to the Chancellor of the Empire the state of affairs, and stated at the same time that, judging from the information received at Strassburg, the task would undoubtedly be onerous, but he hoped not beyond his powers. Later on in this letter he says:

* Under-Secretary of State, von Mayr, head of the Finance Division of the Ministry of Imperial domain.

In the next place I should wish to refer to the remark, in the letter received from your Highness 8th inst., to the effect that your Highness has been for the last five years an almost complete stranger to the condition of things in Strassburg. Though I know very well that your Highness, by the decree of July 4, 1879, removed the conduct of the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine from your sphere of jurisdiction, and after mature reflection held to the resolve thus taken, yet I frankly declare that I do not consider a favourable result of my activity as possible unless I can count on remaining in constant touch with your Highness and be assured that my decisions and administrative measures accord with the views of your Highness. I therefore beg of you not to withdraw from me the support which your Highness has hitherto granted me, and to which I am indebted, if during my active service in Paris I gained approval in the highest quarters and succeeded in carrying out your intentions.

Journal.

VARZIN, *July*, 1885.

Early yesterday I arrived in Berlin from Munich, wired to the marshal of the Crown Prince's household in Potsdam, and received the reply that I was to come to tea at the New Palace that evening. In the afternoon I received some interesting intelligence at the Foreign Office which threw a light for me on the latest crotchets of the Ministry, and afforded me the proof that my position in Paris could not have been permanently maintained against the youthful element in the Foreign Office. That lay in the nature of things. An old man cannot occupy a subordinate position towards young people whom he knew as mere children. The appointment as Governor is on this account a lucky chance. At 7.30 o'clock I was at the Crown Prince's. He received me most kindly, and quite approves of my appointment. Likewise the Crown Princess. They understand that I leave Paris with regret. I could not, indeed, tell them the reasons why I was leaving Paris. We then took a drive, and at ten o'clock I returned with Curtius to Berlin. Early to-day I left there. A very lively trainful of Berlin people travelling to the Baltic bathing places. A Herr von Drost, from Zoppot, near Danzig, related many things about distilleries and husbandry. At 5.30 I arrived at Hammermühle. Here I met the Chancellor of the Empire, who was meeting his daughter and grandchild at the station. They had come by the same train. I drove with them to Varzin. On the way he told me that the Emperor and Crown Prince were in favour of the marriage of the Princess Victoria with the King of Portugal; that, however, the Crown Princess and the Princess preferred the Prince of Bulgaria, and that there was skirmishing of all sorts over this business. We dined at six o'clock, and then sat in the garden in front of the house until nine o'clock. The Prince is of the opinion that I should

retain Hofmann provisionally. Crailsheim, whom Völderndorff particularly recommended to me, he considers too stiff and not versatile enough. When I take up matters myself Hofmann will be an excellent executive officer. He possesses no initiative, but does not need it if I provide it myself. I mentioned that there was some talk of dividing the Governorship into a military and civil command. That, said the Prince, is not admissible. There is but one Governor. Then he asked: "How does the Princess take it?" I said: "She is agreeable, even though it is difficult for her now to begin something new. Besides, she does not wish to go to Paris in summer to pay farewell visits and to pack up. So the later I go the better she will like it." The Chancellor had no objection to this, but merely said that he feared the military might try again to dissuade the Emperor. On account of this the nomination must not be too long postponed. I said I would now go to Gastein and accept, so that the Emperor should be bound. I would also hand to the Prince a memoir in which I mentioned the acceptance of the post, but touched on certain points, such as the salary. The Prince knew nothing about it, and doubted if the Governor had any right to a salary, but simply to the costs of representation; declared himself, however, as willing that a pension should be secured to me. Then he said to Rantzau: "We must consult the Imperial Minister of Justice about it." I then asked what I should say in Paris. He replied that I could just quietly tell the truth, and declare the matter to be absolutely settled. In everything the dread cropped up that the matter might once more be broken off through intrigues. That the Emperor should wish to protract matters in order to grant Mantuffel's children a quarter's salary the Prince looked upon as a mistake on the Emperor's part. It was, however, not necessary on this account to delay the nomination. The heirs would receive the quarter's salary whether a new Governor was nominated or not. I then made a passing remark about the uniform, saying that the Crown Prince was not opposed to investing me with a military uniform. The Prince considered that the uniform of an ambassador would do. I will now see what the Emperor says. I also asked the Prince if he were anxious soon to fill the post in Paris with some one else, to which he gave a negative reply. So long as he has the certainty that my nomination will not be thwarted he cares little about anything else.

VARZIN, *July 19, 1885. Afternoon.*

Rantzau tells me that he has drawn up a pressing report to the Emperor in which the Prince proposes that the nomination should be delayed for some months. It will not come before the end of September, possibly only at the end of October.

As regards reports to the Emperor, the Governor sends these

direct. Copies of specially important reports are sent to the Imperial Chancellor.

Concerning Paris, the Prince would like to transfer Münster there, but does not know yet, whether Münster has any desire to go there. He would have Hatzfeld go to London. But I must say next that I do not know who is to be my successor. I asked the Prince if he would like me to speak to Münster about it, and offered to go to London for that purpose. He did not accept this proposal, as he wishes still to wait.

In Strassburg gentlemen had counselled me to have an officer attached to me as Governor. I thought that a good thing, and spoke about it to the Prince. But I then remarked that he showed small inclination for it, and presently discovered the reason. He himself had already often expressed a wish to have an officer attached to him. That was, however, always refused him by the Military Cabinet Minister. If I should now succeed in this I should only arouse the jealousy of the Prince, which the matter was not worth, as I can just as well appoint a private secretary out of the funds at my disposal, who can serve as my marshal of the household. Should I appoint a retired cavalry officer he will render me the same services, and I shall avoid irritating Bismarck.

GASTEIN, *July 25, 1885.*

Yesterday I travelled from Aussee to Gastein with Marie. We arrived late, and are staying at the Villa Meran. I reported myself to-day through Lehdorff to the Emperor, who appointed twelve o'clock for me, and asked me to dinner at four. I went to the Emperor at twelve o'clock. He received me standing, and looking very strong. He told me that he regretted to lay this burden on me, and be obliged to take me away from Paris, but he had not been able to do anything else, "for there was no one but you to whom I could assign the post." I thanked him repeatedly for the trust reposed in me. Then the Emperor said: "I dare not show myself again to the Princess; she must have taken it very ill of me." Upon this we seated ourselves; and now the Emperor spoke about Manteuffel and of his good qualities, of the Alsace-Lorrainers and the difficulty of Germanising them. He remembered it was just the same in the Rhenish provinces even in 1839, when his father sent him there to inspect the troops. Only after the men of the Rhenish provinces had faced the foe with other Prussian troops did they become quite Prussianised. He hoped the case would be the same in Alsace. He mentioned with praise a certain Herr Schlumberger as a man resigned to the new order of things. Zorn von Bulach and his son had quite turned round, and were now in the Opposition. He then spoke of Heuduck and of the separation of the command of the troops from the Governorship, and he indicated this division as necessary. About the particular

business questions, the time of assuming office, the pension, the form of reporting, &c., I could not get much out of him. I must talk it over with Wilmowski.

GASTEIN, *July 26, 1885.*

To-day I had a long conference with Wilmowski, who has worked up the whole subject of Alsace-Lorraine, and possesses accurate knowledge of it. About the characteristics of the officials there he said the following: Hofmann was an upright but weak man, and it was necessary to take care that he did not let himself be completely trodden on by Puttkamer and Mayr. Of initiative he had none; he did what he was told. Of Puttkamer he said that he did not believe him ambitious of having the position of Secretary of State. Mayr he considered dangerous on account of the influence he would seek to obtain. It would consequently be well to let everything pass through Hofmann's hands, even to the arrangements of the palace. About Manteuffel's government Wilmowski said he had in point of fact acquired far too great independence, and in order to favour prominent persons had reversed the judgments of the magistracy, which gave rise to discontent amongst the German officials. Among the persons of note he recommended Schlumberger and Klein. Zorn von Bulach and his son are *protégés* of the Empress, but affect Gallicism. With regard to assuming the post, the Emperor does not wish the nomination to take place before October 1. This, however, enables me to make preparations for arranging the palace. He then advised me as soon as the nomination was published to ask for leave of absence and quit Paris, and at the end of October travel to Paris, present my letter of recall, and go from there to Strassburg to enter upon office.

As far as leave of absence was concerned, I need no Imperial permission in order to travel in Alsace-Lorraine. If, however, I should wish even for a week to travel beyond that country he advised me to choose a means of notifying the Emperor that I was going away, and that I took it for granted that he gave me permission. For longer absences of several weeks it was necessary to obtain the Emperor's sanction. Wilmowski advised me to have a talk with Hofmann about what further privileges might perhaps be solicited, and this should no longer be delayed, as there was going to be, so to speak, a sort of wash-up. Regarding the uniform he will give no opinion.

PARIS, *August 7, 1885.*

When I take all the symptoms into consideration, I am sure that an intrigue against my remaining longer has been hatching for a year and a day. A multitude of various things contributed to it, which mutually perhaps had no connection, and yet all aimed at the same end. When any one has enjoyed such a posi-

tion as that of ambassador in Paris for eleven years he becomes the *point de mire* for much covetousness and envy. The younger generation, people with a career, who eleven years ago were twenty-five, are now nearing their fortieth year, and begin to get impatient. In such a position as mine one cannot stand well with every one and with all one's subordinates, and whether one wills it or not, one makes enemies. Add to this that Bleichröder, Henckel, &c., have made use of the Press against me, and would so make use of it again. Here I was inconvenient to the Rothschilds and the Orléans party. If I had refused, they certainly would have been obliged to let me stay on here. That, however, would have put the Chancellor, who hitherto has held himself aloof from every intrigue, into a bad humour, and so have prepared the ground for active plots. Erlanger, with whom I talked of many things to-day, without telling him everything, shares my apprehensions, and thinks I have done very well to choose this kind of retreat instead of waiting to be turned off. He knows plenty which he does not tell me, and has good reasons of his own for heartily wishing me luck.

From a letter to PRINCESS AMALIE.

PARIS, August 18, 1885.

You ask me how I feel. I am not dazzled by the splendour of the appointment, and am sorry to leave here, where I am accustomed to be and have many friends. Besides, the French have always been congenial to me. Furthermore, I believe my labours here to have been useful. It is a strange fatality that during the course of my life I have only held posts long enough to overcome the initial difficulties and habituate myself to the place and feel happy. Then the inexorable hand of Providence intervenes and tears me away, and it seems to me I hear a voice saying: "Everything is going on too easily and pleasantly for you. Your inborn laziness will get the upper hand, so off you go to something new!" Then once more I must encounter the unaccustomed, the painful, the unknown, and put my whole strength into the struggle. That may be very useful for my spiritual welfare, but it is not agreeable.

KING LUDWIG OF BAVARIA to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

ELMAU, August 24, 1885.

MY DEAR PRINCE HOHENLOHE, — I received with pleasure your letter of 17th inst., in which you bring to my notice his Majesty the Emperor's intention of nominating you to the Governorship of Alsace-Lorraine, and hasten to acquaint you with my complete concurrence in this change of appointment in the Imperial service. In offering you my best congratulations on the trust reposed in you by his Majesty in appointing you to such

an important and responsible post your well-proved discernment offers me a sure guarantee that you, my dear Prince, will perform distinguished and profitable services in the new and difficult position for which you have been chosen.

Your well-disposed King,
LUDWIG.

To the PRINCESS ELISE.

STRASSBURG, *September 4, 1885.*

I believe that we differ in our views in so far that you acknowledge no religion which is not founded on Scripture, and that I seek to keep my religious convictions without this basis. How can I do otherwise? You Protestants hold that faith and conviction are one and the same — identical. We Catholics look upon dogma as something standing outside ourselves, which we do not attack, but of the truth of which in our innermost hearts we are not convinced. Indeed, had I the faith of a Crusader, and were I convinced that the Christ was in the monstrance on the altar, I would never leave the church again, but remain the whole day through upon my knees before the Holy of Holies, and become a monk of the severest order. Of such believers there are no longer any nowadays. I am also lacking in adoration for "God's Word." When you quote to me portions of Holy Writ I rejoice in them. Then the uncomfortable thought assails me that the Gospel was first pronounced in Hebrew, then written down in Greek, then translated into Latin or German, and that originally much of its purport may have been different. In my soul I do believe and hope with a certain dull consciousness. Reason follows closely, and sometimes the former, sometimes the latter, gains the upper hand. I would be ready to let myself be converted. I envy those who have your faith, but I cannot achieve it for myself, and the great riddle of existence, whence we come and whither we are going, is still for me an unsolved problem.

Journal.

PARIS, *October, 1885.*

To-day I handed to Monsieur Grévy my letter of recall. It was not a State audience, but only a visit in a morning coat. What we had to say was said in the course of conversation without oratorical ceremony. I spoke of the Emperor's wish to maintain friendly relations with France. He thanked me. I then thanked him for his confidence and for the reception which I had met with here, and expressed my regret that I was now about to take my leave. He commended to me *nos anciens compatriotes*. I then paid a visit to Madame Grévy, where a few remarks were again exchanged. I was feeling so sad that the old couple affected me, and I was touched by General Pittié's kindly behaviour.

STRASSBURG

1885-1894

STRASSBURG

1885-1894

PRINCE HOHENLOHE left Paris on the evening of October 11, 1885, and went first of all to Baden, where he took over the conduct of the business of the Governorship and received the report of the Minister of State, von Hofmann. After a short stay in Aussee, he arrived, on November 5, 1885, in Strassburg itself. On November 6 the students of the university gave him a public welcome. At the Kommers, which took place in the evening, the Prince replied as follows to the complimentary address presented to him:—

GENTLEMEN, — When, earlier in the day, I expressed my gratitude for the honour conferred on me in the shape of a public welcome by the University students, I could only tender my thanks to a limited number of your fraternity. Now that I have the good fortune to see assembled before me the whole body of Strassburg students, I reiterate my thanks in the heartiest manner. I confess that the honour you have done me has taken me by surprise; it has never yet been my privilege to merit the favours of this University. From the words, however, which your spokesman has addressed to me, I flatter myself that your appreciative welcome is not merely given to the newly appointed vice-gerent, but also to the political worker who during the last twenty years has taken an active part in the great movements and events in our Fatherland. And this, to me, is the most valuable part of your tribute. For, gentlemen, I prize the judgment of youth, above all of academic youth, very highly. The young judge from the standpoint of the ideal, and they judge with greater freedom, with less prejudice, and more sharply than does maturer age, which is often hampered by motives of discretion. I do not mean for a moment to say that we should esteem lightly the judgment of riper years; far be that from me. I know well how to value the opinion of experienced men. But nothing is so encouraging to me as the assenting glance, the enthusiastic acclamation of youth. Both have fallen to my share to-day, and for both I thank you. The memory of this evening, of these days, will accompany me through the work I have embarked upon, the work of furthering the welfare of this land. You, gentlemen, whom this land has hospitably received, you whose most delightful life-memories will be bound up with this country, you will, I am sure, respond warmly and eagerly when I call on you to give a hearty cheer for Alsace-Lorraine!

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

STRASSBURG, *November 8, 1885.*

Count Herbert has telegraphed to me that your Highness has commissioned him to tender to his Majesty the proposal that the military authorities should be instructed to allow the usual double sentry before the palace of the Governor to remain. I venture to express, your Highness, my most humble thanks for your action in this matter. It was not personal vanity, as I am sure your Highness will believe, which induced me to bring this matter under discussion. The affair, however, took a turn which appeared compromising to my position. When I arrived here I learned from a well-informed source that the Strassburg public was awaiting with great anxiety the settlement of the sentry question, and believed that on this was to rest the decision of the further question whether the new Statthalter was to be invested with the same attributes as the Field-Marshal, or whether he was to be simply "a sort of Chief President." The military authorities inclined to the second, the civil authorities to the first course. The reasoning was of course childish, seeing that the position of the Statthalter is determined by the provincial authority conferred upon him, and not by the placing of a double sentry before his palace.

The question, however, was put in that way, and it was, of course, to be expected, that the civil population, who were interested in the preservation of the double sentry, would see in its definite abolition a defeat of the Governor. I have endeavoured to ensure that this controversy shall not be carried on in the Press, and I hope I have succeeded.

The presence of the commanding general at the railway station on my arrival, and the demonstration of the whole body of generals and the military authorities yesterday, will also help to reassure the minds of the people and to convince them that there is no antagonism between me and the military. But that in the Royal Military Cabinet a certain coolness of feeling does exist towards me, I noticed even in Baden. There are some persons who maintain that General von Albedyll is annoyed because I, and not he, have got the post of Governor. This may be the reason of the difficulties which he has raised against the attachment of officers to the Governor. Meanwhile I have invited the assistance of Captain von Thaden, who, being at present unoccupied, is very kindly rendering me useful service.

With my reception here I am very well pleased. It is true that the ceremonials of welcome have chiefly been organised by the Germans who have come into the land. But native Alsations also took part in the torchlight procession, and the attitude of the aloof-keeping, old-established population was a thoroughly dignified one, and no discordant note disturbed the harmony of the truly brilliant proceedings. I attach no great political value to all this; but the impression on the assembled populace was a good one.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, *November 14, 1885.*

The days go by in wearisome monotony. The first thing in the morning proposals from Privy Councillor Jordan. Then luncheon, and at three o'clock the audiences begin. Yesterday the Government officials, then the officers of justice; to-day the University, a number of gymnasial teachers, and finally the Chamber of Commerce, the *prud'hommes*. At 6.30 there was a great dinner for the grantees and the generals. It was all splendidly got up with flowers and silver, and looked mighty imposing. The servants were in white livery. At nine a ball in the Casino, where I made the acquaintance of a number of ladies. The toilettes were not very smart. The dancing was pretty fair. I saw no end of company, and I find that the *métier de roi* is a *fichu métier*.

To-day I received my two sentries, which will contribute to the quieting of the civilians, who were already beginning to be annoyed because their Governor was so badly treated.

METZ, *November 17, 1885.*

Yesterday I arrived at Metz. The chief authorities at the railway station. Drove amid some cheering and ringing of bells to the Hôtel de l'Europe, where I was received by the landlord's daughter with a bouquet and a German address, which the young lady, although French, had learnt by heart, and repeated quite nicely.

Then getting into a dress-coat and driving to the District Presidential Hall, an elegant prefecture, where the reception of the numerous officials and the Bishop took place. I made a speech, and then, turning to a bishop of eighty-one, a Legitimist, said to him: "*Que j'étais heureux de lui témoigner le respect que m'inspiraient son grand âge, sa dignité ecclésiastique et les grandes qualités qui le distinguent.*" This pleased him very much. Then presentation and reception. Afterwards a drive on the fine esplanade, with the view of the Mosethal, and a round of visits. At six o'clock dinner at the President von Hammerstein's, and at eight a torchlight procession. Very beautiful. The square brilliantly lighted by the lamps and torches and Bengal light, and in the background the huge cathedral. To-day, November 17, the first thing in the morning the music of two military bands. At eleven o'clock a visit to the cathedral, where I was taken round by the cathedral architect, Tornow, and a few of the clergy. The cathedral is imposing, and larger than that of Strassburg. From there to the town museum; then to the Hospice of St. Nicholas, a large prebendary house, managed by Sisters of St. Vincent. In the school of the Hospice there was singing and recitation by the children, presentation of bouquets, and so on. From there to the Lyceum, where I was expected to look at everything, and

was also present at two hours' instruction of the Prima. At 3.30 home, and reception of the generals and the commanders of regiments. At five o'clock I gave a dinner in the hotel. Sixty guests — generals, officials, and Common Council. Very well served. I began by proposing the health of the Emperor, which met with all the more approval as Manteuffel, out of respect for the feelings of the French, had always omitted this toast. Then I made my speech, and I think I spoke well. At any rate, I was rewarded with great applause. Towards the end of dinner a member of the Common Council came up to me and gave a friendly address in French. I answered in French, and concluded with three cheers for the *Conseil Municipal*. After dinner many flattering things were said to me all round. The officials seemed all very proud of their new Governor, and the French members of the Municipal Council were somewhat tipsy and maudlin. Then to the theatre, which was already festively illuminated outside. I was received by the committee of the theatre, conducted into the beautiful foyer, and I took possession of the central stall and was greeted with a flourish by the orchestra. All the people rose as I entered, and I greeted them with bows in all directions, and then took my seat on a *fautewil* in the centre, where I was the object of general contemplation. The opera *Lohengrin* was quite decently performed. I stayed through two acts, and then went home.

The next day a morning drive to the fortress of St. Quentin, and at midday back to Strassburg. I am glad that it all went off so well. I am beginning to get accustomed to playing the sovereign, although it seems rather a wearisome trade.

The EMPEROR to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, November 22, 1885.

Accept my best thanks for your letter of the 19th inst. With pleasure and delight I learn that your impression of the reception that was given you is so gratifying and gives you confidence in your post. But I must also express my deep appreciation of your answers to the speeches addressed to you, of your short but weighty words. Your predecessor also spoke well and significantly, but he did not spoil his hearers by brevity. — Your good friend

WILHELM.

Telegram from the EMPEROR.

November 27, 1885.

The mission, as sad as it is unexpected, with which I have entrusted you* furnishes me the occasion (to ask you) to mention to the Queen-Regent, and wherever you have the opportunity, how shocked I am by the death of the King of Spain,

* See the following entry in the journal. King Alphonso XII. of Spain had died on November 5.

with whom, since we made acquaintance in Homburg, I have enjoyed true friendship. With all his amiability I recognised a young man ripe beyond his years, clearly comprehending his difficult task and possessing an energy that promised a long reign.

Journal.

MADRID, December 8, 1885.

On the evening of November 27 I found a telegram from Bismarck, informing me that the Emperor had chosen me as his representative at the funeral solemnities in Madrid, and that I must start off at once. Soon afterwards I received another telegram from the Emperor telling me what I was to say to the Queen. I went at once to Hofmann, to confer with him about taking my duty, and then packed my things. On the 28th at 9 A.M. I set off in the Orient express train. At 6 P.M. I was met in Paris by Kiderlen with the news that the funeral was put off till the 3rd, and that I could therefore stay twenty-four hours in Paris, which I was glad to do. I installed myself in the Hotel Meurice. The next day came the news that the funeral was further postponed till the 10th. So I stayed a week in Paris. On Sunday evening I started for Madrid. In the sleeping compartment there was only the Roumanian Ambassador besides myself, and he too was going on an extraordinary embassy to Madrid. The night passed comfortably, except that it was very hot. At Bordeaux we had coffee, when the Roumanian introduced himself to me. The unlucky man was jammed into a compartment with two Englishmen and a Spanish lady, but he did not thereby lose his dignity or his loquacity. The stout Marchioness of Bedmar, with her lady's maid, took the compartment next to me, which had been destined for General Pittié. Pittié had not turned up. After daybreak we travelled through the so-called "Landes" which extend between Bordeaux and Biarritz. Nothing but young pinewood. One might be travelling in Upper Silesia or near Biala. At Biarritz the weather was glorious — as hot as summer. Sunshine and blue sea. At Hendaye the German Consul of San Sebastian got in, introduced himself to me, looked after my luggage at Irun, and went with me as far as San Sebastian. San Sebastian is very finely situated. One sees the spurs of the Pyrenees, whose slopes reach down to the sea. After this our way lay through mountains. At the stations men with clean-shaved faces, enveloped in mantles, gendarmes in black gaiters, mantles, and three-cornered hats. Now and then a beautiful peep into the mountains, as in the Ennstal. At Miranda a grand *table d'hôte*. When it became dark, and there was nothing more to see, I played piquet with the Roumanian, and then lay down to sleep. At seven o'clock I got up. At 7.30 we arrived at Madrid, where Solms and Gutschmidt and the Introducer of the Ambassadors received me. I have comfortable quarters in the Hôtel de Rome.

December 8, 1885.

After arriving at the hotel I did some writing. Then I lay down in bed to get warm, but soon got up again, and took a walk on the Puerta del Sol and in the Alcala Street. As it was a great festival day everybody was up. I went into a church, where preaching was going on; but the crowd was so great I could not stay there. In the streets I saw the men in their mantles and the women in their veils. The better classes, however, wore European dress. At 12.30 I breakfasted with Gutschmidt and the other gentlemen. Afterwards Solms fetched me to pay visits to Sagasta, to the Nuncia, and others. Afterwards I drove to the Retiro, a sort of Bois de Boulogne or Allée des Acacias. At the end of it there is a magnificent view.

December 9.

Yesterday evening we dined at the hotel. I had invited Solms and Gutschmidt. To-day I visited the picture gallery of the Royal Museum. Certainly the grandest picture gallery in the world. A quantity of Murillos, Velasquezes, Rubenses, Van Dycks, Rembrandts; also a number by J. Breughel, Teniers, Wouwerman, and Snyder. The two Raphaels which I saw to-day did not appeal to me much. To-morrow I shall see other pictures — Goya and the Italian school. Everywhere there are masterpieces. One becomes quite dizzy after a time, there is so much to admire. It's impossible to go through these galleries quickly, for everything is so extraordinarily fine. Fortunately Gutschmidt was with us, and he pointed out the most famous pictures. I will only mention *Charles V. on Horseback*, by Titian; *The Smithy* by Velasquez; the different Madonnas by Murillo; *Rebecca at the Well*, by the same; portraits of the Kings of Spain; Ribera's *Jacob's Ladder*, and so forth. The portraits of the Dutch painter Moro are very fine, in the style of Van Dyck. This afternoon I shall drive to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We have bright, warm weather.

MADRID, December 10, 1885.

Yesterday afternoon at 3.30 I drove with Solms to see the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Moret, in order to hand to him the copy of my despatches. We exchanged polite speeches, and I had an opportunity of conveying to the Minister the contents of the Imperial telegram. The Minister said it was a great misfortune for Spain, but what comforted him and gave him hope for the future was the character of the Queen, who had entered on her new task with great strength of character. After a drive on the Prado I dined at Solms's with the gentlemen of the Embassy with those of my own suite, and with Vega de Armijo and Dubsky. The first-named told many tales of the journeys of the King to Germany and of scenes in Paris. After he had gone

we talked about Spanish affairs. It appears that here everything depends on satisfying some hundred thousand Spaniards of the cultivated classes on providing them with places and opportunities of making money. The people seem indifferent. The proof is that the present Government has all the votes in its own hands, and will itself take care that a certain number of opposition members are also elected. The whole thing is a system of exploitation of the most abominable kind, a caricature of constitutionalism phrases and thieving. To-day I spent the forenoon in the picture gallery, and saw for the first time Raphael's famous pictures, *The Pearl* and *The Cardinal* and several others. Afterwards we went to the Academy buildings, where hang two remarkable Murillos (*The Dream*). One of these especially makes a profound impression.

At three o'clock the Introducer of the Ambassadors, Zarco del Valle, came to fetch me. We mounted a chariot and six of the time of Louis XVI. I with the Introducer, Kanitz and Schlippenbach* in another coach. The King's equerry and a Colonel of the Guides rode by the side of my carriage. Running footmen also kept pace with the horses. Cavalry accompanied us. In the courtyard of the palace there was stationed a guard of honour, which presented arms. The band played the King's march. On the steps of the building I was received by six chamberlains, who conducted me up. The whole flight was lined with halberdiers. On the bottom step six more chamberlains came forward. While we were going up the band played the "Brabançonne." At the top I found the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the courtiers on duty.

On account of her mourning the Queen did not receive us in the throne room, but in a small saloon, to which the Minister led me. The Queen stood by the window and waited for my speech, which I delivered in French, and in which I spoke of the Emperor's grief at the death of the King, and repeated his remarks on the personality of the deceased sovereign, and assured her Majesty that the Emperor extended to the Queen-Regent the sympathetic regard which he had for the King. The Queen thanked me in French, and begged me to tell his Majesty how much she was touched, and how grateful she was for all the many tokens of sympathy which she had received from his Majesty and from the Imperial family. Then she said in German: "I think we have already known each other a long time," to which I answered in the affirmative, recalling her stay in Aussee. She then gave me an account of the King's illness, and I was surprised to hear that the Queen did not consider consumption to have been the cause of his death, but anæmia and general weakness. It was her opinion that the King had not been strong enough to throw up the phlegm, and that this had brought on pulmonary

* Court Marshal Count Kanitz and Kammerjunker Count Schlippenbach were deputed to attend the Prince on his embassy to Madrid.

disease. Others say that the lungs were both completely destroyed. As, however, there was no post-mortem examination, no definite conclusion was arrived at. According to the intelligence received by Solms, it was "galloping" consumption. The Queen then spoke of other things, inquired after my family, and then dismissed me, whereupon I introduced Count Kanitz and Count Schlippenbach to her. The Queen makes a very favourable impression. She looks sad and resigned, but resolute; and when I told her that here people were quite satisfied with her attitude, and with the way in which she conducted affairs, she took it all as a matter of course, and answered, "I shall know how to fulfil my duty towards my children." Hers is a calm, dignified nature which cannot fail to impress the Spaniards.

After I had greeted the lords and ladies in the first saloon I went down the steps again, escorted in the same manner. The band played again, the halberdiers presented their halberds, the chamberlains sauntered silently down the steps, and at the bottom we got back into our carriages and drove at a foot pace through the gaping crowd back to the Hôtel de Rome.

At 6.30 I had an audience with the Archdukes and the Prince and Princess* Ludwig Ferdinand. I had some difficulty in finding my way about the palace, but went first to the Archdukes, and then at 7.30 to the Bavarian Princes. That the Archdukes were not much bowed down with grief I had already noticed on the way from Strassburg, where I drove with them. The Princess Paz† did not put on a sad face when I spoke of the King, and passed on very soon to indifferent topics. The Princess Eulalie‡ then came in, looking quite happy, and she too talked as if nothing special had happened. As I drove back home through the streets of Madrid with this impression on my mind, and through the happy, loafing crowds, Platen's poem came into my mind:

But small regard has human pain
And wounded men unheeded fall
A sick man's suffering ne'er was known
To hurt a healthy man at all.

There lies the King, who, a fortnight ago, if not in robust health, was at any rate alive, active, and the centre of attention, alone now in a dark room in the Escorial, where he must decay and moulder before he is laid in the royal vault; and here everything is going on in the accustomed way, and even those who were nearest to him scarcely think of him any more.

And each one thinks himself an "all,"
And each in verity is nought.

* *Née* Infanta of Spain.

† Wife of Prince Ludwig Ferdinand of Bavaria.

‡ Wife of the Prince of Orleans-Bourbon.

December 11, 1885.

This morning purchase of fans and other things. In the afternoon an audience with Queen Isabella, and afterwards with the Infanta Isabella. Both seemed still very sorrowful, but after a while they began to talk of our sojourn together in Paris. The Queen said that Strassburg must be very dull.

At three o'clock I drove to see Sagasta, to the Premier, a small, Jewish-looking, vivacious man, with whom I found a few bishops, who, however, soon took their departure. Sagasta said that the death of the King was a great misfortune, but he hoped that the Queen-Regent would hold on. Force would certainly be used against the projects of the Carlists or the revolutionists. The Conservatives were in favour of the Regency, and would make no difficulties.

December 12, 1885.

To-day at ten o'clock the great funeral ceremony took place in the church of San Francisco el Grande. We drove there at 9.30, took our places, and stayed all through this very beautifully ordered funeral service. In front of the altar, on the right, sat three cardinals, and we ambassadors on the left side. I was between Des-Michels and Schuwalow; opposite us were the Infant of Portugal, the Duke of Coimbra, the Archdukes, and Prince Ludwig Ferdinand of Bavaria. I also made the acquaintance of the nuncio, who asked me how I like the clergy in Alsace-Lorraine. On my answering that I had nothing but good to say of them, he remarked, "If only they could come to peace in Prussia!" I said I had no doubts of the good intentions of his Holiness — as little as I had of my own Government; but the difficulty lay in the Centre, which did not wish for peace.

What had already struck me here before was the happy-mindedness of the Spaniards. They treated the funeral service like a festival; all the Ministers and Church dignitaries greeted us with smiling faces, talked and chattered, and seemed quite to forget that we were taking part in funeral obsequies. This is the character of the people. Death to them is something gloomy and uncanny, over which they pass as quickly as possible. In this respect they are naïve and childlike, and free from all hypocrisy. To put on sad faces when their hearts are not concerned is an impossibility for them.

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

MADRID, December 12, 1885.

I have the pleasure of communicating to your Highness herewith the purport of some conversations which I have had with Spanish statesmen. Señor Canovas del Castillo, who called on me immediately after my arrival, began his talk with a detailed account of the late King's illness. He said that from infancy the

King had had a weak constitution, and that he had put more strain on it than it could bear. Up to his twenty-fifth year no serious results had followed. From that time onwards, however, he had had frequent attacks of fever, which had enfeebled him and had brought on an anæmic condition, and which had led, in the last few years especially, to a state of general weakness, so that in his last sufferings he had not had the necessary power of resistance, and had finally succumbed to paralysis of the heart. That the King had been the victim of a dissolute life, as was here and there asserted, was untrue. Canovas also denied that the cause of death had been consumption. Concerning the position of the country, Canovas spoke very hopefully. His retirement had been a necessity, and the Conservative majority in the present Chamber, which was entirely under his influence, would prepare no difficulties for the present Government; the Government, therefore, need not proceed to a new election before a year's time, and could go on acting with the Conservatives and the Liberals. There was no reason to fear the Republicans, and the Carlists as little. The sole danger for the future lay in the long minority of the future King or the future Queen. Meanwhile he could see well that the Queen-Regent was fully equal to her task. Don Manuel Silvela, whom I have known since the time when he was ambassador in Paris, spoke also in the same strain. He too assured me that the Conservatives would support the present Government. Señor Sagasta expressed his satisfaction with the attitude of the Spanish episcopate, whereby the danger of a Carlist movement was diminished. At any rate, the Government was resolved on energetic suppression of any and every revolutionary attempt, from what quarter soever it might proceed. Señor Castelar is of a different opinion. Needless to say that I have not talked with him myself, but he assured the Roumanian Ambassador, Plagino, that the republic is making continuous progress in Spain, and that its ultimate victory is undoubted, even though the Republicans are determined to avoid all revolutionary agitation. The republic, he believes, will triumph in a peaceful manner, and then all the Latin peoples will become united.

Speech at a dinner for the Provincial Militia, January 30, 1886.

Gentlemen, — I was almost tempted to address you as "my honoured colleagues." Such is the force of recollection and of old associations that whenever I see before me an assembly of delegates I easily yield to the illusion that I am one of their number. That, however, which is no illusion, but which I treasure as a very real gain from the experience of my parliamentary life, is the excellent opinion which, on the whole, I have formed of members of parliamentary bodies. And well do I know what it means to secure the confidence of one's fellow-

citizens, and to retain it in such a measure that they will entrust to us the representation of their collective interests. In means no less than the best part of the work of a man's life.

In this spirit I come before you now, gentlemen of the Provincial Militia; and because this is so, and because I have full confidence in your sound good sense and your political experience, I abstain to-day from inflicting on you a political speech, and from laying a programme before you.

The young Baron von Bulach has lately said with truth that promises are dangerous things. Yes, even the statesman who has the power to fulfil his promises will do well to be sparing of them, for he cannot tell whether circumstances will allow him to carry out his programme thoroughly. But one who, like myself, has to reckon with factors which are above and beyond the sphere of his influence must be doubly prudent. One of your countrymen, a prominent politician of the country, with whom I was speaking about the perpetual clamour for a programme of government, said to me: "What do we want with a programme? The best programme is a good administration." Yes, gentlemen, this is how I look upon my task. I shall endeavour to accomplish it conscientiously and dutifully, and in the spirit of sincere gratitude for the confidence with which I have been welcomed in this country. . . .

Journal.

February 21.

To-day dined with Zorn von Bulach at Osthausen. A lovely old castle. Friendly reception. Plentiful dinner. At eleven o'clock, home. The old Zorn von Bulach talked about the Strassburg Municipal Council and advised that the elections should be proceeded with. He could not guarantee that this course would succeed, but the thing was worth an attempt anyhow. It seems that there is a general wish for a Municipal Council.

In the Ministerial Council yesterday it was decided that Hofmann should proceed cautiously to negotiations.*

STRASSBURG, *March 17, 1886.*

General Heuduck communicated to me yesterday the contents of a despatch from the Minister of War, by which he was informed

* The Strassburg Municipal Council had been suspended in the year 1873 in consequence of a conflict with the Government. In April 1874 it was dissolved. The authority of the Municipal Council had been transferred, in virtue of the law of February 24, 1872, to the administrator of the Burgomaster's office, Back. In view of the approaching re-election of all the municipal councils of the land in 1886, the question arose whether now was the time to issue writs for re-election of the Strassburg council also, and in this way to attempt the restoration of a normal municipal administration.

that the Imperial manœuvres would actually take place this autumn in Alsace-Lorraine. The Minister of War leaves it still open whether the Emperor's headquarters shall be at Metz or at Strassburg, and asks Heuduck for his opinion. Heuduck and Lieutenant-Colonel Bock are in favour of Strassburg, because, they say, there would be difficulties in the way of accommodating the troops in the country and the Imperial suite in Metz.

Both of them, however, recognise that the cost of the manœuvres in Alsace would be much greater — about five hundred thousand marks more. To the question put to me whether I had any political reasons against choosing Strassburg, I could only answer, No. My opinion certainly is that it would have been better to wait for the manœuvres till the Emperor's palace is ready. It would not be a cheering spectacle for the Emperor to see before him the beginnings of a palace, which he is not likely ever to occupy. I think, also, that it would not make a very favourable impression on the people to see an old man of ninety following the manœuvres in a carriage. Besides this, we do not yet know how the municipal council elections will go. It would certainly have been better to postpone the matter till the following year, and to finish the palace first.

STRASSBURG, *May 29, 1886.*

The superior of the priests' seminary, Herr Dacheux, came to me to-day to present me with some of the books which he has written. We talked first about the seminarists who have been called in for military service, and whom he would like to see freed from this obligation. I advised him to send me a memorandum, which I would send with my recommendation to the commander of the Eleventh Army Corps, General von Schlotheim, at Cassel. I advised him also to make the seminarists go through the examination for the one year's voluntary service, and he then complained that the boys' seminary at Zillisheim was badly organised, that the young people came into the seminary badly prepared, and that, in his opinion, each seminarist before being admitted should have passed the *Abiturienten* (school-leaving certificate) examination. He came next to the subject of the coadjutor, of whom he complained that he had not yet made him a Canonici, although the superior of the seminary ought by rights always to be a Canonici. He spoke altogether very freely, and complained of the low level of culture on which the Alsatian clergy stood. He protested that he had no ambition for himself personally, and was not striving for anything, least of all a bishopric. He was altogether disgusted, and so forth. On the whole he impressed me with the idea that he wanted to recommend himself to me as confidential friend and adviser in spiritual matters. I may be glad to make use of him thus, but must use discretion.

ZABERN, *June 5, 1886.*

The first day of the journey to Zabern is behind us. It was rather tiring. We started—Thaden and Sommer* were with me—at nine o'clock from Strassburg in the Orient express train, and were received at Zabern by the Kreisdirektor [Director of the District], the burgomaster, the chief lieutenant Messow, President Munzinger, and other dignitaries. After the first greetings, which the international travellers by the Orient express watched with lively interest, I was conducted to the public place in front of the railway station, where the school children were drawn up. First of all I was presented with a bouquet by a little maiden dressed in white, a pupil of the girls' high school; and the same little girl afterwards recited a poem which she had learnt by heart, and repeated extremely well. Then the school of the school-sisters also greeted me with a poem and a bouquet. Then came other schools and a reception of teachers was held.

Then we entered our carriages again, and drove through the town, which was decked with triumphal arches and flags, to the Office of the Director of the District, where I was greeted by Frau Bickell. Soon afterwards we proceeded to the Catholic church, where the pastor made me a speech, in which he expressed his pleasure at the sight of a Catholic Governor, and recalled the members of my family who had obtained and are still obtaining high posts in the Church. Of Uncle Alexander† he said this wonderful man deserved to be canonised; and then he spoke of the Cardinal "who stood by the side of Leo XIII." Hereupon I went processionally into the church, took my place before the altar, and listened to the singing. Then the pastor showed me over the church. From here we went to the Catholic Franciscan church, which looks exactly like the church of the Schillingsfürster. I have forgotten to mention that I answered the priest's speech, thanked him for his friendly greeting, and said that I was convinced from what he had said that the clergy of Alsace-Lorraine would receive me with confidence. I also thanked him for his kind recollections of the members of my family, and promised to tell the Cardinal all he had said.

In the Protestant church the reception was simpler. Finally we went to the synagogue, where the cantor started a long Hebrew song, after which the rabbi made a speech, which I answered. At 12.30 there was breakfast at the District Office; after which presentation of officials, of the Municipal Council, of the members of the District Assembly, and so forth. At 2.30 came the officers of the Jägerbataillon. Then to the gymnasium,

* At that time Government assessor in the Governor's Office.

† Prince Alexander zu Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfürst (1794 to 1849), cleric, suffragan bishop in Grosswardein, famous for his gift of healing by prayer.

where I was greeted in the Aula with an address from the director, which I answered with some recognition of the merits of the excellent Director Pelzer. Then to the hospital, where I questioned some of the patients about their condition, and talked with the lady superintendent. In a neighbouring building the orphan children were mustered. Here again we had bouquets and poems. The visits terminated with the museum, where I found amongst other things, an interesting engraving on copper representing Cagliostro, who in his day had stayed here with the Cardinal Rohan. At five a drive to the Castles of Hohbarr and Gross-Geroldseck. Then a beautiful drive through the forest, but little view owing to the foggy weather. At 7.30 P.M. dinner at the Sonne — thirty-three persons. I began with drinking the Emperor's health, then the burgomaster toasted me; after which I drank to the health and prosperity of the town of Zabern. After dinner came the Marksmen's Union, the German Singing Union, and others. First a torchlight procession, then singing of songs. I sent for the leaders of the unions to come upstairs, thanked them, and gave them champagne to drink. At 10.30 I drove back to the District Office, where I had excellent night-quarters.

June 6, 1886.

In accordance with the programme, I started yesterday at 9 A.M. with the Director of the District, Thaden, and Sommer for the different places which the Director had proposed that I should visit. We stopped first at a village near Zabern, Monsweiler by name. Here the school children were drawn up, accompanied by their masters and mistresses. One of the children handed me a bunch of flowers and made a speech of welcome. After I had chatted a little with the assembled company we proceeded on our way. The next large village where we halted was Ernolsheim. Here again school children, verses, speechifying. The singing union of the place, which was managed by the schoolmaster, sang quite respectably; a number of peasant lads. The Protestant pastor seems an excellent fellow. I was much struck by him, with his big, fair beard. The place is wealthy, the Protestant population an industrious and model one. At Dossenheim the same ceremony and a visit to the church, which is built on the walls of an old Knight Templar's castle. At last we reached Neuweiler, a great market hamlet. Here there were two rows of school children drawn up, school-sisters, governesses, and masters. Again the customary poem recited by a white-robed maiden. A stout girl with a rich display of lace delivered the speech. Then set out to visit the churches. At the head a brass band; after them school children, with the school-sisters and the female teachers; in front of me three white-robed maidens; behind me Thaden and Sommer and the Town Council; at my side the burgomaster with his scarf. In this way we proceeded amid salvos of artillery

to the great and famous church. Here the Catholic priest received me with a very loyal speech, in which he emphasised his own and his congregation's attachment to the Emperor, and spoke of my Catholic forebears, as well as of the clerical members of the family. I answered with thanks. The church is built partly in Romanesque style; it is one of the interesting buildings of Alsace. The priest showed me the tapestries, which represent the life of St. Adelphus and date from the fifteenth century. They come down from a Countess Lichtenberg, who was a Countess of Hohenlohe. The leopards were introduced into every piece. Then we went to the Franciscan church, and thence to the synagogue, from which we drove to the former fortress Lützelstein, along a beautiful road through a splendid forest. At Lützelstein dinner with the notables and the officials; then a drive in the rain to Zabern, where we arrived at 6.30, and whence we reached Strassburg again at 8.30.

STRASSBURG, *June 20, 1886.*

When at the beginning of June I was in Munich for a few days I received intelligence of the steps about to be taken for depriving the King of the government and setting up a regency instead. I talked with Gustav Castell about the plan for sending a commission to Hohenschwangau to inform the King of the decision. When I left Munich to go to Schillingsfürst, the Commission had started for Hohenschwangau, and I learnt at Schillingsfürst of its negative result. On Sunday I went back to Strassburg. Early on Monday, just as I was preparing to start for the race at Weissenburg, the news came of the horrible end of the King and of the death of Dr. Gudden. I could not postpone the journey, so I went to the festival, and at Weissenburg I received the official confirmation of the catastrophe. Thereupon I went back to Strassburg at 4.30, and took train at 9 P.M. for Munich. At Munich I went to the sitting of the Upper House fixed for twelve o'clock, and was elected one of the Committee appointed to investigate matters and to express an opinion on the Regency. At noon on Wednesday the first meeting of the commission took place. The Minister Lutz began with a report of the circumstances, and said that it was in the spring of this year that the Ministry had first become convinced that the King was suffering from a mental malady. He explained why they had proceeded as they had, and then read out the documents which gave information concerning the King's condition. The report of the former Cabinet Councillor Ziegler was of no importance, and its details all known beforehand. The Cabinet Councillor Müller had some new information to give — as, for instance, the wish of the King to find another country where he could rule without chambers, his gloomy disposition, his disgust with life, and a collection of letters, in some of which he made

protestations of romantic friendship to this Cabinet Councillor. The report of Hornig told of the King's mania for sentencing people to the Bastille, also of the orders which he gave people to get money by breaking into the banks, of the King's outbursts of rage, of his ill-usage of servants, of the orders to seize the Crown Prince of Italy, to incarcerate him and torture him, of the King's insomnia, of his continual headaches, and so forth.

In like manner the Butler Wilker, who described the ceremonials which the servants were obliged to observe, testified to the setting up of a castle keep, to the King's aversion to Munich, his worship of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. He, as well as the Valet Mayer, who was heard later on, spoke of the King's uncleanness, and similar matters. Mayer told how for a whole year he had been obliged to wait on the King in a black mask, because his Majesty, as he put it, could not bear to see his criminal's countenance. Then came the opinions of the alienists, who considered the mental derangement an undoubted fact. In the evening the meeting was resumed, and in conclusion came the evidence of Dr. Grashey, who gave an exhaustive account in the same sense. Another sitting was held the next day, and the last sitting was fixed for Friday. In the debate that now arose the question was discussed whether and why it was necessary to proceed in this particular manner and not in any other — whether the King's abdication ought not first to have been solicited. Frankenstein spoke in favour of accepting the Government's proposal, but blamed the long delay and the procedure followed. Orttenburg spoke in the same sense. I defended the Government, pointed out that there might well be doubts as to the King's insanity, as even Dr. Grashey had explained how in this kind of madness two personalities could be united, the one crazy and the other reasonable. I then stated that the alleged dealings of the King with the Princes of Orleans, which were represented as felony, according to the tenour of the documents, consisted in nothing more than a letter of an obscure Paris agent, who, on his part, had proposed conditions of neutrality to which no answer had ever been returned.

With regard to the new King Otto, Pranckh, who was one of the curators, stated that his illness had gained such ground during the last few years that he was no longer able to talk coherently, and that there could be no doubt as to his condition. Then finally the Chairman spoke; an agreement was arrived at regarding the Report at the public sitting; and after all the members of the commission had declared in favour of the Government proposal the sitting came to an end.

On Saturday the 19th the funeral took place. I was induced by Castell to go into the princes' room, where I had the opportunity of introducing myself to the highest personages, such as the Austrian Crown Prince, Prince George of Saxony, and others. The Grand Duke of Baden was also there, and many other

princely celebrities. In the procession I, as a Crown official, paired with Oetlingen. The weather was, fortunately, very fine during the procession. Afterwards a storm came on. At 12.30 I started in the Orient express to return to Strassburg, where I arrived punctually at nine o'clock. I may supplement that at the inquest on the King it was established that his brain had degenerated, while his body was found to be, on the whole, perfectly healthy.

The excitement in Munich was intense, and all sorts of preposterous reports circulated in the town. It was said that the King had been murdered, and so forth. This will evaporate when the things which have been communicated to us become known. On the whole, there appeared to be a feeling that it was a good thing that this reign had come to an end.

EMS, June 27, 1886.

To-day a walk to the Spring with Lippe and Reischach, Lehndorff and others. At nine o'clock the Emperor sent for me, and I had a walk with him. The Emperor began by talking of the death of the King, and afterwards we conversed on indifferent subjects. Then I went back home, and waited there, as the Emperor had said that he should want me to come to him again. The quartermaster fetched me to him at about eleven o'clock. I remained with the Emperor a long time, but spoke very little about business, and only of the most urgent matters, so as not to tire him. I mentioned, however, the nomination to the Council of State for Bulach, of which he seemed to approve, the residence of the Empress at the Mairie, and various events from Strassburg.

At four o'clock dinner with the Emperor. I sat on his right, Loë on his left. Keller and Königsmarck were also there. I talked with Perponcher about the question of accommodation at Strassburg. He said if the Empress did not reside in the Governor's building it would be very inconvenient for the Court retinue as regards attendance. I said it would not be very difficult to arrange. The Emperor and Empress had no objection to the plan, and the latter had said to me: "*Au revoir* at the Mairie!" After dinner I went to call on the Princess Olympe Bariatsky, who had sent me a card, but did not find her at home. The Emperor had bidden me go to the theatre, but afterwards sent Lehndorff to tell me that he had forgotten the public mourning and that he would let me off going. The Emperor is always full of consideration.

STRASSBURG, August 13, 1886.

A letter from Berlin informs me that there is agitation among the military in Alsace-Lorraine about the military insecurity which is said to prevail through the whole Imperial lands. They

are urging on General Heuduck to bring the case before the superior (presumably the military) courts. My correspondent has been collecting information for the last few weeks, and he has sent me a *résumé* of what he has learnt. Whether it had been decided to take steps with the superior courts he could not ascertain. I received these communications in Aussee. As regards the question of the expulsion of the French reserve officers, such a step could not be taken without first obtaining the opinion of the Imperial Chancellor. For it would certainly lead to reprisals against the German reserve officers living in France. As regards the fire brigades, it will not be possible to avoid a reorganisation. The question of the foreign police must be carefully looked into, especially now that the arrival of the Emperor is at hand, and slackness in the executive can be easily corrected.

In order, on my part, to see clearly into the matter, and at once to nip in the bud any grievances of the military, it will be necessary that no expulsion is allowed to become ineffective without a report to me in each particular case, and especially that expulsions ordered by the inferior courts are enforced without exception.

STRASSBURG, *September 18, 1886.*

The day has gone off well. At twelve I was with Thaden at the railway station, received the King of Saxony, and then went back again. At 2.30 we drove to the station. Numbers of courtiers, grand dukes, princes, generals. When the train came in I went forward to meet the Emperor. He gave me his hand, and then took the Report from Heuduck, and then I went across to the other side to greet the Empress. We then drove straight home again to await the Emperor. The town was richly decorated. When the Emperor came I was standing with the Grand Duke and the generals before the gate of the palace; Marie and Elizabeth above in the entrance hall. The Emperor first of all greeted them and then inspected the guard of honour. Then he greeted the King of Saxony and Prince Charles of Sweden, who were waiting in the saloon.

They then took their departure, and the Emperor forthwith returned their visit. I waited till he came back, and then conducted him to the room destined for him on the first floor. At five o'clock there was a great dinner in the Governor's palace. In the evening tea and a tattoo. I was informed that I was to drive to the parade with Countess Hacke and Marie, and, moreover, in undress uniform — *i.e.*, a blue dress-coat. I should have had, therefore, to sit on the back seat of the carriage. That would have injured my prestige. I therefore begged the Emperor that I might be allowed to drive in my own carriage and in state uniform, which he granted.

To-day at eleven the parade. I drove behind the Emperor, who drove with Radziwill. From the palace to the Polygon there were densely packed crowds shouting, hurrahing, and waving handkerchiefs. It was a remarkable sight. On the drill-ground we drove first along the front of the troops that were drawn up, then took up our position in front of the Tribune and watched the march past of the troops, which was very imposing. I think there were 30,000 men assembled. As the Emperor was rather tired there was only one march past. This lasted till one o'clock. Fortunately the sky was overcast nearly the whole time, so that nobody suffered from the sun. After my return I paid a few more visits. At five o'clock there was a great gala dinner in the Casino. The Emperor did not take part in it. The Crown Prince delivered the speech to the Army Corps. At 6.30 the dinner ended. At 7.30 a performance for the military at the theatre, where, however, owing to some confusion, a great many seats remained unoccupied. At 8.30 tea in the Empress's apartments with the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden, Hofmann, Loë, and the Empress's suite. At ten o'clock home.

September 12, 1886.

Early this morning I had to write several hurried notes to inform those concerned that the Emperor could not hold the reception of the officials, which must be put off till Tuesday. Afterwards to the races. At five o'clock a family dinner with Marie and Elizabeth. In the evening tea with the Empress, which, however, was soon over. The tea party also included the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden, the hereditary Prince of Weimar, Loë, Bulach, Goltz, and the Court retinue. It was all so dull that the party soon broke up.

Monday the 13th, with the Emperor and the Grand Duchess at ten o'clock by train to Stephansfeld. There we took carriages, the Emperor with his adjutants, Marie and I with the Grand Duchess, Elizabeth with Fräulein von Schönau. We drove through several profusely decorated villages, amongst others Brumath, and then came to an elevated place whence we could look down at the manoeuvres. Much firing of guns, thunder of cannon, cavalry onslaughts, dust, and confusion. The heat was stifling. At one o'clock all was over, and we drove back to Brumath, where we got into the train. In the afternoon I paid visits. At 5.30 dinner with the Emperor; a hundred covers. His Majesty was present, but left the table before the end. In the evening a gala performance in the Town Theatre. The prologue and the *tableaux vivants* were not particularly clever. Between the acts we collected in the foyer, where the Empress also appeared and caused several people to be presented. The Crown Prince was besieged by a large number of ladies. The Emperor soon left. I stayed on till the Crown Prince went.

On the 14th, at eleven o'clock, with the Emperor and Empress to the cathedral. I drove with the Emperor. The Bishop and the cathedral chapter received the Emperor. Then we went over the cathedral. In the aisle the good Stumpf had placed a brass band, which greeted us with diabolic music, so that one could not speak a word. I begged the Prebendary Straub, who was standing by me, to stop the fellows making such a noise, which he did. The going over the cathedral took a quarter of an hour. At 11.30 there was the reception of the magistrates, the Council of State, the provincial militia, and the Municipal Council. I presented the gentlemen to the Emperor, Hofmann presented them to the Empress. At one o'clock came the processions of peasants, who looked very nice. We stood in the garden by the balustrade. The Emperor was much entertained by the expedition, which on the whole was very successful. Afterwards the burgomasters and a number of girls and children came into the central saloon, and were regaled with champagne and cake. Some of the girls repeated poetry and presented bouquets to the Emperor.

At 5.30 a great municipal gala dinner in the military casino. I sat opposite the Empress and the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince made a speech, which was friendly to Alsace; I replied to it, and then proposed cheers for the Emperor. In the evening, I took leave of the Empress, who went off very much pleased with everything, and said many friendly things to me. She gave Marie her portrait. We finished the evening at the *Trompeter von Säckingen*.

Thursday, September 15.

The Emperor did not go to the manœuvres to-day, as he was feeling too weak. In the course of the morning I had a talk with Perponcher, who said it became more and more evident that the Emperor could not follow out the programme. It must therefore be modified. The Emperor must not take part in great dinners, but must only dine quietly upstairs with the princes, and then send for the gentlemen to whom he wished to speak to come up to him from the great dinner below.

Perponcher also begged me to advise the Emperor to give up Metz for the present, and to go there in October, when it had become cool, from Baden. During the day there was a thunderstorm, which cooled the air, so that in the evening at dinner I saw no occasion to give the suggested advice. After dinner we went to the play, and saw a rather stupid comedy. I am coming more and more to the conclusion that it is entirely the fault of Perponcher, Albedyll, and Lehndorff that the whole manœuvre journey was undertaken. Now they are afraid that it will turn out badly, and so I am to come to the rescue!

The 16th.

Early this morning came news that the Emperor had been taken ill in the night. Consequently the Crown Prince was informed that he would have to pay the visit to the University instead of the Emperor. I found the Crown Prince with the Grand Duchess of Baden, and informed him of this decision. First of all he would not hear of it, and said the function must be put off to another day. I pointed out to him, however, that this was impossible, as the 800 people who had been invited to the University could not be put off. On the Crown Prince complaining that he could not improvise a speech, I said that he had already often given proof of his oratorical power, and that it was sure to be all right. Then the Prince decided to submit to the paternal command. At 11.30 we drove to the University, and all went off well, and everybody was satisfied.

In the evening after dinner there was a great consultation as to whether the Emperor should go to Metz. Albedyll, Perponcher, Eulenburg, and the Crown Prince were against his going. The Grand Duke of Baden and the Grand Duchess were anxious that the Crown Prince should go instead of the Emperor. These three then went in to speak with the Emperor, and the latter decided to give up the journey, but did not touch upon the question of a representative.

September 18.

Yesterday, early, I hastened to inquire after the Emperor, and heard that he had slept well. This is the most important point in his present state, and let us hope that the "Kaiser days" will go by well. Metz is given up; this the Emperor could not have stood. The question, however, of whether the Crown Prince shall go in his place has not even been raised before the Emperor. I did not see him on the evening of the day before yesterday, and yesterday again I could not see him. Opinions are divided. Albedyll, Perponcher, and Lehndorff are strongly against the journey of the Crown Prince. My own opinion is that it would be very useful, but I do not consider it imperative. The reception might be a brilliant one, and it appears that the gentlemen of the suite grudge the Crown Prince the benefit of it.

To-day we drive with the Grand Duchess to the manœuvres. The Emperor goes also.

At Mommenheim there was a state reception, and then we drove up a hill from which we looked down on the manœuvres. Much thunder of cannon and musketry, a brilliant *corège*, infantry marching past, &c. &c. The whole thing gave me an impression of great confusion. Possibly, however, it was all right. Then home by train. I must add here that at nine this morning Perponcher came to me, bringing me, by command of the Emperor, his Majesty's portrait in life-size, with a very

gracious letter. When I greeted the Emperor at the railway station, and expressed my thanks, he embraced me, whereupon I endeavoured to kiss his hand. The friendliness of the old gentleman affected me deeply.

In the evening dinner. The Metz deputation again raised the question of the Crown Prince's journey, whereupon the Emperor commissioned the Crown Prince to go to Metz instead of himself. I supported the idea, and all the more gladly as rumour had said that I was opposed to it. Perponcher was put out, but all the others were delighted. The Crown Prince especially seemed very pleased, and I am glad that the matter was settled thus. In the evening, tea with the Emperor while the torchlight procession went by; it was very brilliant, and the Emperor was much pleased and amused. I then sent for the deputation to come upstairs, and Bock presented them to the Emperor.

September 19.

To-day the Emperor goes to church, and at one o'clock he starts for Baden. To-morrow we go with the Crown Prince to Metz.

September 21.

Yesterday at eight o'clock I started with the Crown Prince in the special train for Metz. The Grand Duke of Baden and General Heuduck had already gone off by an earlier train. We were accompanied by Hofmann, Thaden, Jordan, Count Schlieffen, Perponcher, Reischach, and a few officers. Prince Wilhelm and I were in the Crown Prince's carriage. Later on Hofmann also, and Hammerstein, after leaving Saarbùrg. At Zabern and Saarbùrg an enthusiastic reception at the station. At Metz we were greeted by the Grand Duke, Prince Albrecht, the burgo-master, and so on. I drove in the Crown Prince's carriage through the excited and enthusiastic crowds. There was more life and movement than at Strassburg. At the residence of the president of the district we alighted. Then a march past of the guard of honour. After this a reception in the courtyard; the Bishop, the officials, and the Municipal Council. At twelve this was over, and each hurried back to his own quarters. Mine were with Dr. Zartmann, in a most beautifully-appointed Renaissance house. The family received me at the door. At one o'clock to the cathedral, where the Crown Prince soon came in. We went round to see everything, and admired the beautiful glass windows and the splendid building. After this to the synagogue; then to lay the foundation-stone of the Mathildienstift. The next thing was to have been a promenade on the esplanade. I, however, stayed in the carriage, as it was raining hard. The Crown Prince, who drove with the Grand Duke, received the homage of the country people on the esplanade, where there was a great deal of rejoicing and cheering. There were even cries of

"*Vive l'Empereur!*" and "*Vive le Prince Impérial!*" At five o'clock came the dinner given by the Crown Prince at the Presidency. Then the theatre, with presentations of the ladies in the foyer. At nine we left the theatre to drive to the Presidency and see the torchlight procession. At ten o'clock home.

Early this morning I visited my hosts, and then went to the museum, where I met the Crown Prince. After inspecting some MSS., books, and so forth, on to the railway station, where again bouquets were presented. On the way the Crown Prince talked to me about the Prince of Bulgaria. The Russian Government — *i.e.*, the Ministry — wanted to leave the Prince there. Blangali (who takes the place of Giers) had prepared a very proper answer to the Prince's telegram, which he submitted to the Emperor. The Emperor rejected it, and wrote himself the rude despatch. The Crown Prince does not believe that the Prince of Bulgaria does not speak the truth. Radowitz, he said, worked hard against the Prince. The Crown Prince had said lately to Bismarck that it would be a good thing if the Balkan States combined together to hinder Russia's overflow. Bismarck disputed this, and said it would be a fortunate thing if Russia obtained Constantinople and the Balkan peninsula, for then she would be weakened.

From a letter of the PRINCE to a confidential person in Berlin.

October, 1886.

. . . One more question. Is it right that in influential circles the idea should be entertained of letting the Jesuits come back into Germany? Personally, apart from all else, I should lament such a contingency for Alsace-Lorraine. If the order regains entrance to Germany it will establish itself by preference in the Imperial lands. In such an event the Germanising of Alsace-Lorraine would become much more difficult. The words uttered by a Jesuit Father at Innsbruck, that the German language was the language of Luther and of the devil, would fall here on fruitful soil. The order would have on its side the young, the women, and all those who stand in hostility to the German element. Despondency would creep over the Germans, and everything French would be fostered and cultivated with renewed energy. If, as would not be difficult, by the coalition of the Central party and the Progressives the law against the Jesuits were abolished, I am convinced that a large part of the National Liberals would go over to the Opposition, and therewith the remainder of the Moderates would disappear.

Journal.

BADEN, October 5, 1886.

After spending a day in Strassburg on my return from Aussee I travelled here yesterday to present myself to their Majesties. I arrived at ten o'clock, and went straight to the Mesmer

house; found Radziwill, Lehndorff, and others, who promised to bring me news. At twelve o'clock I was summoned to the Emperor, who, in spite of his previous indisposition, looked well. He talked first about Metz and Strassburg, spoke once more of his pleasure at the reception given him there, and then came to the Bulgarian question, which troubled him. In like manner he is dissatisfied with the presence in Germany of Prince Alexander, who, as the Emperor remarked with vexation, always goes about now in a Prussian general's uniform. This proves clearly that he is trying to create embarrassments. It would have been better if he had taken advice and accepted the invitation of the Queen of England and gone to England, not to come back again. Now the newspapers are actually saying that he is to be Governor of Alsace-Lorraine!

The Emperor has been informed to this effect by the Imperial Chancellor. The Emperor also spoke with some bitterness of the Crown Princess and Princess Victoria, who still firmly entertained the idea of an alliance with Prince Alexander. He said he had questioned the Crown Prince, who denied it, but did not express himself very clearly. In politics he was ruled by his wife. And, generally, he complained that the Crown Prince was so reserved towards him. Happily his Liberal ideas had become modified.

Then the Emperor gave me a detailed account of the disaster which happened to Prince Henry of Prussia during the chase, when he shot a Baden forester. After this we talked about Prince Luitpold, whose conciliatory disposition he praised. The Prince had proposed at Versailles that the Imperial dignity should be held alternately, and Bismarck thought at the time that this had come from the Prince's own initiative. It had now, however, transpired that he was then acting under command of King Ludwig. Berchem had told him that he had at the time actually read the King's despatch.

I then delivered the letter in which I begged that Philipp Ernst might be placed *à la suite* of the Army. The Emperor recognised the reasons which had led to this desire, and remarked in conclusion that when once he had got his dismissal another starlet might be placed on his epaulettes.

At 12.15 I went to the Empress, who received me in her private apartment — making an exception in my favour, as she said; spoke some very kind words about my administration in Alsace-Lorraine, and sent her love to Marie. From her presence I was again summoned to the Emperor, where I remained another quarter of an hour.

At 6.30 dinner with the Grand Duke. The hereditary Grand Duke and the hereditary Grand Duchess were present. The latter is very pretty and very friendly. In the evening went to the promenade, and then to call on Karl Fürstenberg, who had arrived in the afternoon.

Wilmowski, whom I visited to-day, says that what the Emperor told me respecting Battenberg is based on reports of the Imperial Chancellor, who has a monomania on this point. He said things were not so bad.

Speech at the dinner in honour of the Municipal Council of Strassburg, October 14, 1886.

Gentlemen, — I have invited you here as my guests to-day because with the present day the first year of my official labours as Governor of Alsace-Lorraine comes to an end, and I thought I could not better celebrate the day than in the company of the first dignitaries of the land, my true and faithful fellow-workers — in the company, also, of the representatives of the town of Strassburg. And if I lay special value on having the Municipal Council of Strassburg gathered round me, it is because I long to say a friendly, grateful word to the representatives of the town in which I am called upon to live.

And, in fact, when I look back on this past year, which has been so rich both in happy and in serious events, I am forced to acknowledge that much of all the pleasantest — I may say, indeed, of the best — that has fallen to my lot in this year may be traced back to the town of Strassburg and its inhabitants.

I may put my thoughts before you by referring to three sections of this year. When I arrived here in November last, not wholly free from anxiety about the difficulty of the task entrusted to me, the joyous acclamations of the people of this town filled me with that spirit of self-confidence which is indispensable to the statesman who sees difficult work before him. And when, in the course of the summer, in accordance with the unanimous wish of the provincial representatives, and untroubled by doubts which now and then emerged, I issued writs for the elections of the Strassburg Municipal Council, the town responded by electing a council composed of its best men — a council which does not consider that its business is to turn the Council hall into an arena for political discussions, but which loyally and conscientiously seeks only the well-being of the town. And when in the autumn the venerable Imperial couple honoured the city of Strassburg with a visit, their Majesties were received by some with dignity, by others with stormy enthusiasm, but by all with reverence and joy; and this reception filled me personally with all the greater gladness, on account of the depth of the loyal devotion and veneration which I have now for half a century nourished in my heart towards my Imperial master. In view of experiences and facts such as these, it is but natural that, in spite of the comparatively short time during which I have been among you, I should already have accustomed myself to look upon Strassburg as my home. And so it is that when, after a temporary absence, I return here

the cathedral tower already seems to me from the distance a greeting from home, and I feel a warm glow in my heart when in the evening the cathedral bell reminds me that in my old age I have become a good Strassburger. As such I raise my glass and drink to the town of Strassburg and its representatives.

Journal.

BADEN, October 18, 1886.

In order to pay the Emperor a farewell visit before his departure for Berlin I came here early yesterday from Strassburg and went to present myself at the Mesmer House. The weather was cold and rainy. I found nobody there, but soon after received an invitation to the family dinner at five o'clock. On the terrace in front of the Kursaal I found Maxime Ducamp, with whom I talked for a long time. He said he heard nothing but good from Alsace-Lorraine; that they had felt some anxiety when I first arrived, but that they were now reassured. He then talked about France, and said that among the Orleans family there was nobody who was fit to undertake the government or make a *coup d'état*, and he took a gloomy view of things.

He then told me that he had heard that in the Grand Orient in Paris it had been resolved to assume a better attitude towards Germany and definitely to give up Alsace-Lorraine. He came next to the Jews, and said he had once made the acquaintance of Karl Marx, who had told him that the *Internationale* and its party recognised no separate nations, but only mankind. To which he had answered it was true that nationality was but a matter of the second rank, but that with first principles of the second rank great things had been accomplished.

Whereupon Marx had answered angrily: "*Comment voulez-vous que nous ayons du patriotisme, nous, qui depuis Titus n'avons plus de patrie!*" This, in Maxime Ducamp's opinion, is the *raison d'être* of the *Internationale*, which really owes its origin to the Jews. He believes that the Jews are striving after universal dominion — *la monarchie juive universelle*. The kings of France had acted on the principle of tolerating no subject who was richer than the king. When this rule was transgressed by any subject the overwealthy person was hung and his fortune taken from him. He confirmed this with examples. And this is what would be done by the French nation which was now the ruling one. The moment would not be long delayed, for the Rothschilds had already six millions.

With Wilmowski — this is again supplementary — I talked about the distinct presidents (*Bezirkspräsidenten*). The nomination of Schlumberger to be president in Colmar he regards in the same light as I do, and sees in the idea suggested by Lederhose and Puttkamer great weakness, and a superfluous, dangerous concession to the Alsatians. On the other hand, he approves highly of the idea of making Stichaner president in

Strassburg, and he thinks that any want of bureaucratic zeal in the latter might be supplemented by a good Oberregierungsrat.

At five o'clock dinner with their Majesties. The most complimentary remarks were made to me about my speech. The Empress had at once, as she put it, had herself trundled over to the Emperor to take the speech to him. The Grand Duchess said with emotion that she had never read anything so touching and beautiful. When I told all this to Wilmowski this evening on the promenade, he said: "Yes, you did that very well, like everything else that you do." At 8.30, tea with the Empress. I sat by the Grand Duke and the young Countess Fürstenberg. There was a great deal of talk about the King of Bavaria and Prince Luitpold, and so forth. After the *soirée* Countess Fürstenberg persuaded me to accompany her to the Countess Andrassy, who showed us Cumberland thought-reading tricks.

BADEN, October 18, 1886.

Early this morning I was with Bülow, the ambassador, who told me all sorts of things about foreign politics. On my asking him how we stood with France, he said it was true that they were becoming conciliatory towards us there, and that Herbertte's embassy* also had this object. The meaning of it was, however, to win us over to the Egyptian question and other questions in which the French wanted to make use of us against England. The Imperial Chancellor was of opinion that France was too uncertain an ally to risk losing England's friendship for her sake. Their policy would therefore be, not to reject the advances of France brusquely, but to act dilatorily. With regard to the Bulgarian question, he said that the Russians no longer knew how to get out of the fatal situation into which they had been brought by the clumsy instructions given by the Emperor personally to Kaulbars. Bismarck proposed that Russia should come to an understanding with Austria, and fix a theoretical line of demarcation, by which the western part of the Balkan peninsula would remain under Austrian and the eastern part under Russian influence. Austria had not accepted the idea, but this was on account of Hungary. It was still the aim and endeavour of Bismarck to hinder a conflict between Austria and Russia. Kalnoky had wavered for a time, but was now firm again.

The Empress received me at eleven o'clock. Then the Empress said she wished Prince Luitpold were not going to Berlin until she was back there herself. Further, she bade me keep a watchful eye on the French tendencies of the Alsace clergy. I told her that that was also my aim.

* The Ambassador de Courcel had been recalled on August 24. On October 23 Herbertte, till then head of the Foreign Office, had been appointed Ambassador at Berlin.

At five o'clock I was invited to a small family dinner. Besides their Majesties, only the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden were present. The other mortals ate down below, and only came upstairs after dinner. I then came across the Minister Solms, who remarked to me that in the Foreign Office they were somewhat *en l'air* because things were not going right with the ambassadors. Keudell did not report the most important things, Münster was weak, Reuss out of health and wanting to get away. On parting the Emperor pressed my hand, and in very gracious words expressed his satisfaction with my services and the hope that I should go on in the same way.

STRASSBURG, October 20, 1886.

Yesterday a drive to Markolsheim. To-day numerous audiences. At three o'clock I went by appointment to the great seminary to be shown over the buildings by the superior, Dacheux. He took me first into his own room, where I looked at his copper engravings. Then we went through the whole spacious building, where two hundred seminarists are now lodged. To-day it was still empty, as the pupils were not coming back for several days. After we had gone the round Dacheux poured out all that he had at heart. In the first place he charged me to take care that, if the Jesuits were coming back to Germany, the condition was made that Alsace-Lorraine should belong to the German province of the order, and not to the French one, so that the French Jesuits should not obtain influence here. I answered that the Jesuit belonged to no nationality, and that it was therefore a matter of indifference whether the French or the German Jesuits carried on their work here, but anyhow I would remember his advice. Further, he spoke of Zillisheim, where the boys were not, as at Montigny, prepared for the *abiturienten* examination. This was necessary, and he advised me to urge on the Bishop that the boys' seminary should be reformed in this matter. At the least Zillisheim ought to have an Oberprima. A theological faculty in the University he also considered a desideratum, but in Rome they had declared themselves against it, and now Stumpf had given up the idea and was thinking of instituting a Catholic faculty on his own account. The *Bulletin Catholique* had contained information on the subject in one of its last numbers. He recommended me the *Revue Catholique d'Alsace*. Then he complained that in Stephansfeld and in the reformatory at Hagenau there had been proceedings against the sisters. I ought to inform myself about the matter, he said. He advised me to read the documents of the foundation of St. Thomas on account of the injury done to the Catholics by the confiscation of the endowment of St. Thomas by the Protestants. But there was nothing to be done. Finally he advised me to institute a search among the archives for the ordinances of Louis XIV.

for the Frenchifying of Alsace. These might be followed now in the opposite sense.

Dacheux attaches importance to our attending High Mass on Sunday, so that the seminarists may see us! But he says we must insist that the heating apparatus is in proper gear.

EMPEROR WILHELM to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *October 22, 1886.*

I very gladly grant you the three weeks' leave of absence with the different arrangements and conditions.

WILHELM.

Journal.

PARIS, *November 10, 1886.*

What has struck me most during my present stay is the change which has taken place in the position of General Boulanger. Only last spring Boulanger was still looked upon as a *farceur*, by no means as a man who had to be reckoned with, but as an adventurer who followed merely personal aims, and so forth. Now I am assured by people capable of judging that his position has become quite different. Whilst formerly he stood in a certain sort of dependence on Clémenceau, now Clémenceau is dependent on him. Boulanger, they say, has not only the Extreme and Radical Left on his side, but also the Opportunists, which means the majority in the Chamber. Freycinet would not dare now to rid himself of Boulanger: and even Ferry, were he to come to the helm, would have difficulty in getting a ministry together without Boulanger. Boulanger is a man who knows how to win over others, who knows how to impose upon and blind the masses. If he remains two years longer in office the conviction will have become general that Boulanger is the man who can conquer Germany and recover Alsace-Lorraine, and as Boulanger is a man without any scruples, whose ambition soars very high, he will drag the masses into war. Blowitz and Villaume share this opinion. Their utterances agreed. Blowitz added that if Germany considered war unavoidable she had only to let Boulanger have his way, and war would come in 1888. If, on the other hand, Germany did not want war, she must overthrow Boulanger. Boulanger's fall was a certainty if only the country came to see — and that, indeed, before the military enthusiasm had spread in wider circles — whither it was about to be led by Boulanger. Then he would be cleared out of the way; for just now the country was pacific and should shun war. In a year things would be different.

There is no doubt that Grévy desires peace. He knows that a victorious general would drive him out of the Elysée without delay, and he is equally well aware that a war begun under his administration and ending in a defeat would cost him his position, if nothing more. The advocate Reitlinger, who has Grévy's confi-

dence, and with whom I had some dealings on a legal matter, offered to discuss with me the conditions of a *rapprochement* or an alliance between France and Germany. I declined, as such negotiations were out of my competency. I also told him that I was well aware that the French were anxious for an alliance with Germany, under conditions which Germany could never grant. Thereupon he withdrew, but I saw from his manner that my observation had hit the mark. I cannot venture upon a decision as to whether it is possible, by means of discussions in the German press, by a serious practical exposition of the consequences which will follow Boulanger's course of action, to enlighten public opinion in France as to the danger threatening the country and thus induce it to put pressure on the Chamber and bring about his fall. The commotion which such discussions would produce on the Stock Exchange, which is very sensitive to the action of French politicians, might perhaps produce a favourable effect.

Herbette is a man who has a certain thirst for diplomatic action. He is said to have gone to Berlin in the conviction that he will succeed in representing the *rapprochement* between Russia and France as a harmless and acceptable arrangement. The Orleans party are further from their object than ever. The Duc d'Aumale will not provide the Comte de Paris with the sinews of war, and the latter's means are insufficient for him to act independently. D'Aumale wishes to become President of the Republic himself, and has, moreover, had a quarrel with his nephew from the time that Madame de Clinchant — whom he is said to have married — has not been recognised by the Comtesse de Paris as the lady of her uncle's house. This feminine quarrel is said to have decided the question of the presentation of Chantilly, which is regarded as a *mauvais tour qu'il a joué à ses neveux*. Nobody believes that the Duc d'Aumale has any prospect whatever of becoming President of the Republic. If the shattered *bourgeoisie* ever required a strong man to maintain law and order, a young general would be chosen, and not this gouty old academician. Count Münster, who has judged the question calmly and examined it closely in all its bearings, does not share the apprehensions of the above-mentioned persons. It is impossible for me in a week to form a competent judgment, and I therefore confine myself to stating what I have heard.

The EMPEROR to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, November 18, 1886.

Yesterday I received from the new Prince of Hohenlohe, your nephew,* the official announcement of his entry into the public service.

* Prince Friedrich Karl of Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfurst, son of Princess Therese, the eldest sister of Prince Chlodwig, succeeded his brother, Prince Nikolaus, on October 23, 1886. The father, Prince Friedrich Karl, died on December 21, 1884.

How much is implied by this event! Four deaths in one family within two years! You are already aware that the widowed Princess, whom I deeply respect, when communicating the death of her husband to my daughter, the Grand Duchess, requested her to inform me of the sad news, knowing my intimacy with the Prince from the time of our constant meetings in Russia. I have communicated to the Princess, your sister, my hearty thanks, together with my deep sympathy for this news, through my daughter. I was unable to express my thanks immediately to yourself when you gave me the same information. In any case, I have enjoyed a close intimacy with your deceased brother-in-law, and have ever found him a true German, even at the time when he was in high favour at St. Petersburg.* May God, who has brought this affliction upon them, grant His help to the princely family which has been thus heavily afflicted.

Your good friend,
WILHELM.

From a letter of November 21, 1886.†

. . . I have no right to act as a constitutional monarch, but am a responsible Minister. What I must avoid is the enforcement of *actes de rigueur*, instituted without full knowledge of persons and circumstances, which may afterwards appear a mistake, and which bring greater discredit than the complaints of district commanders on account of excessive caution. Whether Puttkamer is a man on whom I can assuredly reckon against the friends of the French I will not decide to-day. If Hofmann is *à tort, ou à raison* "*persona ingrata*," that is indeed serious. Yet how shall I otherwise place him, or get rid of him, provided that he does what I wish? People have often said of me, *Il se presse lentement*. This I am doing now, am very grateful for good advice, will not lose sight of my object, but also will not allow my equanimity to be shaken. . . .

Journal.

BERLIN, January 18, 1887.

I started from Strassburg on January 17, at half-past twelve at night. It was very cold, and we had a good compartment. I slept as far as Frankfort. There a wait of an hour and a half. Then on in a badly-heated *coupé*. I read all day, and when it was dark played *piquet* with Thaden until close to Berlin. There I put up with Viktor in the Moltke Strasse. On the 18th I made a morning call upon the Emperor and the Crown Prince.

* Prince Friedrich Karl was a Russian general and adjutant-general under the Emperor Nicholas.

† The Prince had been advised to break with the Minister Hofmann in order to meet the opposition which was working against him, and to set in force certain *actes de rigueur* in order to meet the attacks upon his policy which proceeded from military circles.

At one o'clock there was a long chapter ceremony with red cloaks. In the afternoon I paid calls. At three o'clock dinner with the Emperor along with the other knights of the order of the Black Eagle. In the evening *Nathan der Weise* in the German theatre — an interesting performance. Paid calls this morning. I hear that relations between the Crown Prince and Bismarck have again become strained over Battenberg. The Crown Prince objects to the dissolution.* His Liberal advisers are agitating against Bismarck. There is general mistrust of France. In the afternoon I saw Bleichröder; he does not share the mistrust of France, and does not believe that war will break out now. On the other hand, he thinks there is every prospect of war between England and Russia, which may end in a general European war, in the year 1888. England intends to keep Egypt, and the French say they will not stand this. Freycinet told this to Bleichröder. Bismarck holds firmly to Russia. The Austrians are incensed at Bismarck's speech.† If Austria begins war with Russia, we shall take no share, though we shall not allow Austria to be weakened. This intention might none the less lead to war. Bleichröder confirms the statement that relations between the Crown Prince and Bismarck are strained. It is said that at the Court of the Crown Prince there is a desire to make the Prince of Bulgaria Statthalter of Alsace-Lorraine, in order that he may be able to marry Princess Victoria, or to make him Imperial Chancellor! There is general satisfaction here with my regulation concerning the French officers. There is, moreover, no one who has so many envious rivals especially among the generals, as myself.

BERLIN, January 22, 1887.

At two o'clock I went to Prince Bismarck, who received me very kindly. I asked after his health, when he complained of weariness, and proceeded to speak of the latest political struggles, and said he was tired of dealing with double-faced scoundrels. He then emitted some bitter observations upon Windthorst, who, he said, was merely a cunning, selfish advocate. What astonished him was that the Rhenish, Westphalian, Silesian, and Bavarian nobility followed his orders. He then sent for the Pope's letter to the nuncio in Munich, *i.e.*, the letter from the Cardinal Secretary of State, in which the Pope earnestly recommends the deputies of the Centre to vote for the Septennate. The expression "Septennate" occurs twice. I could not conceal my astonishment at the fact that the Centre had none the less voted against the Government. Bismarck said: "Oh, the Holy Father's letter doesn't go down with Windthorst." There is no doubt

* The dissolution of the Reichstag in consequence of the rejection of the military proposals took place on January 14.

† On January 12 the Chancellor had declared that Germany would not wage any war with Russia on account of the East.

that he knew of it. Bismarck says Windthorst and Franckenstein hate the Pope — Windthorst because the Pope negotiated with the Prussian Government without asking him, and Franckenstein because the Pope spoiled his chance of becoming Minister by the testimonial which he gave to Lutz.

I then asked Bismarck if he approved of my proceeding against the French officers. He replied that he quite approved, only he thought it would be necessary to reintroduce the system of compulsory passes. This would emphasise the existing separation and alienation. Bismarck thinks it likely that war will break out at no distant date. He says that Boulanger may make a *coup d'état* at any moment, and then cause a rupture, while the concentration of troops on the frontier and the mobilisation oblige us to take similar measures. (At the Foreign Office I learned that a despatch had been sent to Paris calling attention to the results which this action on the frontier would produce. Things are becoming more serious.) Bismarck had little to say about the elections, as he does not know the candidates. He was also very reserved about the admission of Alsatians to the administration, though upon the whole he considered it desirable that Alsatians should enter the service.

*Speech at the dinner given in honour of the Provincial Board.
February 9, 1887.*

GENTLEMEN, — Last summer when I wandered through the plains of this province, or looked down upon the smiling valleys from the heights of the Vosges, I was constantly reminded of the words of our great German poet, who describes the impression he received when, for the first time, he looked down from the tower of the cathedral upon the town of Strassburg and its surroundings; I mean that passage in the youthful recollections of the poet where in living colours he depicts the landscape, the wooded banks of the Rhine, the green meadows, the fertile plains, which he describes as a very paradise and in which he counts himself happy in that he has been permitted to live for a time in this fair land. If the prospect of a temporary visit could inspire the youthful poet to such enthusiasm, then I have even greater reason to count myself fortunate, seeing that I have been permitted to assume the government of this province, which has once more become German, and to regard the furtherance of its prosperity as my life's work. And as the sense of my connection with this country increases within me, so also increases the desire that God may spare this province from any affliction, and that in particular He may protect it from the horrors of a new and bloody war. If to-day I pronounce this ominous word, it is not because I have any reason to apprehend the imminence of war; but the danger exists — we cannot close our eyes to it — and will continue to exist until our western neighbour has lived

to realise that the constitutional position created by the treaty of peace is final and definite.

With this danger we shall be confronted the moment that a turbulent minority may succeed in rousing the usually peaceful and laborious population of France to determinations which would oblige us to enter the lists in defence of our just rights with all the energy and strength of our Empire. Such being the case, every public announcement of opinion on this side of the Vosges, and the elections in particular, become of increased importance, inasmuch as by this means an opportunity is offered to the population of Alsace-Lorraine to confirm their pacific intentions and to co-operate in the work of the maintenance of peace. Nothing, indeed, would be more calculated to endanger peace and to inflame the militarism of the minority to which I have referred than the election of men who doubt the permanence of our constitutional position — of men who hesitate to provide the German Empire with the means for the permanent maintenance of a strong army. On the contrary, the election of peaceful and reasonable candidates would contribute to improve the situation, to calm public opinion, and thereby to secure peace.

There is yet another reason which induces me, in the interests of the province, to express a hope that the pacific element will be preponderant in the approaching elections. Gentlemen, in every session of the Provincial Board the wish is expressed that Alsace-Lorraine may be placed upon a constitutional equality with the other German States. Only recently was this wish expressed in a session of the Provincial Board. I understand this wish, and I share it. I believe, too, that the time will come when it can be fulfilled — the time when the German Empire (by this I mean not merely the federal governments, but also the German nation) will become convinced that Alsace-Lorraine entirely accepts its constitutional position, and protests disappear.

In such an event the Empire would no longer have any reason to withhold equality of rights from Alsace-Lorraine.

In this work the co-operation of the province is necessary, and the approaching elections will provide you with an opportunity of removing the obstacles which prevent your attainment of this desired object.

Gentlemen, I have to-day repeated what has been already said and heard. I thought, however, that upon so serious an occasion it was the duty of the Statthalter to speak out his mind. I have given you my opinion, and I ask you to receive it as the advice of a true friend; and as a true friend of this land I drink to the welfare of Alsace-Lorraine and its representatives.

To PRINCE BISMARCK.

STRASSBURG, *February 11, 1887.*

The discussions which have recently proceeded between the Ministry of Alsace-Lorraine and the General Staff concerning

the draft of his Majesty's Order, respecting the declaration of a state of war in the event of a mobilisation, the result of which will reach your Highness through the Prussian Ministry, have induced me to consider the question what may be the position of the Imperial Governor in such an event. According to paragraph 4 of the law of June 4, 1851, the executive power passes to the military commander upon the declaration of a state of siege. The authorities are bound to obey this order. The question now is whether the position of the Governor is compatible with subordination of this nature. If this question is answered in the negative I shall be condemned to inactivity in a moment of danger, which would be an extremely painful position to myself. Hence I venture to appeal to the kindness of your Highness, which I have so often experienced, and to request you to consider in what way I could be employed in the case of war. In my opinion, my employment would be possible if the Statthalter assumed the functions of general Governor of Alsace-Lorraine during the continuation of the war, or, if this is not feasible, that his Majesty may be pleased to summon me to headquarters. The question of my not at the moment possessing military rank is a detail that could be easily overcome, though naturally only upon the assumption that your Highness is inclined to support my wishes. In view of the opposition to me which prevails in the Military Cabinet, there is little prospect that my desires would be fulfilled without some such powerful support.

With reference to the elections in Alsace-Lorraine, I informed your Highness during my stay in Berlin that M. Kablé would not appear again as a candidate in Strassburg. This information was correct at the time, but since then the French friends of Kablé have succeeded in inducing this man who is mortally ill at Nice to persevere in his candidature. In consequence the Moderate Alsatians and the Germans in Strassburg have little prospect of electing their candidate, who has not even been selected yet. Moreover, the apprehensions of war, which exert a favourable influence upon the elections in Germany, have a contrary effect here, as the people of Alsace-Lorraine consider that it is impossible to say how the matter may turn out, that it will be better not to compromise themselves, and wiser to re-elect the former deputies. We are doing all that is possible to dispute the ground with our adversaries.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, February 15, 1887.

Monsieur de Lefébvre called upon me to-day, after previously making an appointment. He is on his way to Rome, and informed Messieurs Flourens and Goblet that he would call upon me here. Both have commissioned Lefébvre to inform me that there is no statesman in France who desires war. Goblet in particular commissioned Lefébvre to tell me "*qu'un ministre qui*

voudrait faire la guerre serait lapidé." I replied that I had no doubt of it, and that the Emperor and Prince Bismarck were also convinced of the pacific intentions of the present Government. None the less, a certain feeling of uneasiness was prevalent, connected with the ideas of revenge which were cherished in France. I went on to say that I had never yet met a Frenchman who had entirely given up the idea of revenge — in other words, the project of recovering Alsace-Lorraine. It was this idea that was dangerous. Lefébvre then said that the French Government had conscientiously observed the Treaty of Frankfurt, and would continue to observe it. In course of time people would get accustomed to it. Lefébvre's ideal is a Franco-German alliance, and he is convinced that Prince Bismarck could bring this to pass. I omitted to ask him upon what conditions he had projected an alliance. The disturbing rumours and the incitements proceed from England and Italy, according to Lefébvre's view. In December he said that Waddington had reported most disturbing news from London. He observed that it was only natural that Italy should urge on war, as she desired possession of Nice, Savoy, and Provence, and that things had gone so far that they had been informed in Rome that France should be careful to avoid falling into a second Ems, such a case as in 1870.

As regards the Franco-Russian alliance, it is said that no one in France is inclined to it; nor is there any serious talk of the project, though it must be admitted that in St. Petersburg certain leanings towards France have been manifest. Goblet and Flourens requested me to call upon them on my next visit to Paris, and as soon as possible, in order that they may give me personal assurance of this fact. I replied that I had no immediate intention of coming to Paris, and that I had always avoided visits to Paris statesmen that I might not expose myself to the suspicion of interfering in matters that are not my business. Lefébvre then said that Count Münster was informed of the Ministers' wishes.

PRINCE BISMARCK to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, *February* 18, 1887.

I am in receipt of your Highness's letter of the 12th inst. As regards the position of the Statthalter in the Imperial provinces upon the possible proclamation of a state of war, it would be generally analogous to that of most of the German Federal princes who have transferred their military supremacy to the King of Prussia. In other words, there would be no change in the situation. To confer a military title upon your Highness would not in itself increase your powers. I, for instance, am a general, but my official position would not be affected thereby upon the declaration of a state of war. In the event of war the relations of your Highness to the military authorities in the Imperial provinces would be those of every supreme administrative

authority in the individual Federal States. The exercise of military powers would no more pass into your hands than into the hands of other princes, ministers, or first presidents who have the right to wear a military uniform. Your Highness, however, would not be condemned to inactivity; nor should I be in a similar case, although my functions are confined to the exercise of executive power, which, in time of war, passes into the hands of the military authorities. A modification of your title to that of Governor-General would produce no change in the functions of the Statthalter; nor could a position in the Army on service be secured to your Highness by your transference to headquarters or by the conferment of military rank. Such rank I possess, but it does not give me the right to co-operate in the management of a state of siege. Such right belongs only to the military authorities on active service at the point in question.

His Majesty probably would not care to consider these and other points of difficulty before the beginning of the mobilisation.

VON BISMARCK.

From a letter from the PRINCE, February 20, 1887.

. . . The clergy here care as little for the Pope as for Germany, and are cheerfully working against the Septennate; for the whole of the clergy in this district have unfortunately remained French, as no effort was made immediately after the war to Germanise the seminaries. Any attempt of the kind would now imply an education struggle. The elections will no doubt turn out badly.

Note from the CHANCELLOR to the STATTHALTER.

BERLIN, February 21, 1887.

I am informed by the Attorney-General that at his instance house-to-house investigations have been made in Alsace-Lorraine, and several people have been imprisoned who were found in possession of medals or cards of membership of the Patriotic League or of documents which appeared to prove their membership.

I believe that your Highness will certainly agree with me if I characterise it as unusual that the personal interference of the Attorney-General has been required to secure the execution of these measures. The local authorities had long been aware, as I learn from a note of the 3rd inst. from the Secretary of State, von Hofmann, to Herr Tessendorf, that many members of the State of Alsace belong to the Patriotic League. I cannot conceive why, when these facts were known, criminal proceedings were not instituted against the suspected persons in virtue of the law upon the subject, and, if necessary, on the basis of the Dictatorship paragraphs. Membership of a foreign association such as the

League clearly made them liable to judicial proceedings or to expulsion.

I venture, therefore, to ask your Highness kindly to consider whether it would not be advisable to censure the Secretary of State and the administrative authorities of the Imperial province for their passive attitude in view of the ease with which enemies in the province could endanger the mobilisation and the railway communications in the event of war.

VON BISMARCK.

From a letter of the PRINCE under date February 22, 1887.

. . . The elections, as was expected, have turned out unfavourably, and German officials here are constantly discussing what is to be done to provide satisfaction for the insult to German nationalism implied by this expression of French feeling. Some think the Provincial Council should be abolished, others that the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine should be deprived of their right to representation in the Reichstag. The Chancellor wrote earlier this winter, upon the occasion of a proposal concerning the game laws, that all arbitrary action in Alsace-Lorraine must be avoided. This is also my opinion, and I think it will be better for us to be just but perfectly firm, and to avoid any *coup d'état*. . . .

Journal.

STRASSBURG, February 22, 1887.

The elections for the Reichstag took place yesterday. Information of the results reached me during our ball at the palace. It had been hoped that in Strassburg at least victory would remain on the side of the Germans, but Petri was defeated by Kablé. News also arrived from outside on all hands that the Protest candidates are triumphant. There was great excitement among the higher officials and officers present. Hofmann was reproached for initiating the proceedings against the members of the Patriotic League, and thereby embittering public opinion. The defeat of Hugo Bulach in Erstein was generally regarded as a provocation and as an insult to the German nation. Back and others said that something must now be done to satisfy the German sense of outraged national feeling. Back in particular advised the suspension of the Provincial Council. Hofmann, to whom I spoke upon the subject to-day, will not hear of it; he advised that the burgomaster of Mühlhausen should be asked for his resignation.

This afternoon I received a note from Bismarck in which he complains that the Alsace-Lorraine Government should have taken earlier notice of the membership of many Alsatians in the Patriotic League.

TO PRINCE BISMARCK.

STRASSBURG, *March 5, 1887.*

I beg to send your Highness a copy of the report to his Majesty concerning the result of the elections in Alsace-Lorraine. I need not dwell upon the causes which have produced this unfavourable result, as they are already known to your Highness. I shall also have an opportunity of giving further explanations by word of mouth. Public opinion in Germany and German settlers in the Imperial provinces are making the provincial Government responsible for the result of the elections, as is natural in the first moment of excitement. Whether and to what an extent the administration should bear this responsibility I will not now attempt to decide. In one point, however, I think I am correct — namely, in my conviction that the measures which must now be adopted and the system now to be followed cannot possibly be carried out with the present Secretary of State. I do not believe that he has the necessary tact or capacity to display the required energy in the proper quarters, and I also think that he does not enjoy that confidence among the officials of the provinces which is required if our methods are to lead to good results. I have, therefore, informed Herr von Hofmann of my determination to make a change in the post of Secretary of State. He has asked time to consider whether he should tender his resignation or await dismissal. Meanwhile I venture to request your Highness to give me the name of some official from the Prussian bureaucracy, with Prussian traditions, whom I may propose to his Majesty. Of the local officials of the Prussian school, the Under-Secretary of State, von Puttkamer, seems to me to be the most suitable successor. As soon as your Highness shall have been kind enough to inform me of your agreement with my views I shall submit the necessary proposals to his Majesty.

Journal.

BERLIN, *March 19, 1887.*

I arrived here the day before yesterday, in the evening, and found a letter from Viktor telling me that owing to the Emperor's *soirée* he could not come to me until late, but that he had some important news. I therefore waited for him. He arrived about 11.30, and told me that there was a plan to introduce extensive changes into the administration of Alsace-Lorraine, and that the generals were agitating strongly against me. These proposals might still be averted, but it was necessary for me to take measures, and to offer proposals to the Chancellor which would enable him to oppose the attacks of the military. He said that there is talk of a partition of Alsace-Lorraine, under which part is to go to Baden, part to Bavaria, and Lorraine to Prussia. Viktor advised me to have a talk with Miquel, who could

give me the best information, as he had had a long conversation with Bismarck. Back arrived the next morning, and his news was not particularly favourable. I went with him to Miquel, who told me that the project of partition was impracticable, and that on other points proposals were expected from myself. I discussed these with him, and he seemed to be pretty well agreed.

At the Foreign Office I heard that the Chancellor was unfavourably disposed towards me, but that it was understood that I could not be made responsible for the previous line of policy adopted in the provinces. About three o'clock I called upon Wilnowski, who received me very kindly, and regretted Hofmann, but shared my judgment of him. As regards proposals and persons, he advised me to speak as soon as possible with the Chancellor. Hofmann's dismissal is signed, but is not to be issued until I give him the information. Wilnowski is also against the partition. The danger to myself lies in the proposal to transfer the administration to Berlin. I met Rottenburg, whom I asked to announce me to Bismarck. In the evening to dinner with Viktor. I then waited upon the Empress, who expressed her pleasure at finding me so cheerful and not depressed. I said I had no reason to be depressed, and should continue to do my duty if I were retained in office. She characterised the project of partition as mere newspaper talk. The Emperor, whom I afterwards met downstairs at tea, was as amiable as ever.

This morning von Mayr* arrived, and said that he had been received yesterday by Bismarck, who had told him that he could not stand against the stream, and would be forced to propose radical alterations in the administration of Alsace-Lorraine, including the abolition of the Statthalter law of 1879 and the transference of the presidency and the administration to Berlin. Mayr discussed the matter quite at his ease, and appeared pleased. Friedberg, whom I then visited in the Upper House, considered that the question was by no means settled, and advised me to wait and hear what the Chancellor had to say. At the same time he expressed his mistrust of Mayr, who had no business with the Chancellor, and who only wished to meddle.

Accordingly I maintained a reserved attitude during my conversation with the Prince. The Prince first spoke of Hofmann's dismissal, said this was really not his business, and that Hofmann was answerable to the Emperor and myself. I replied that I had shown Hofmann the first letter of the Prince, in which he asked me to consider the advisability of censuring Hofmann for his carelessness upon the question of the Patriotic League. This had already induced Hofmann to declare that he was ready to go if his retention of office placed difficulties in my way. This I had declined at the time, but further communications from Berlin had obliged me to tell Hofmann that it was now time for him

* Under-Secretary of State in the Ministerial Department of Finance.

to send in his resignation. We compared the Prince's notes with mine, and found a very general agreement.

It was recognised as a leading principle that no changes should be made in the legislation affecting the government of Alsace-Lorraine; the right of election to the Reichstag was to be retained, and the Provincial Council was neither to be suspended nor dissolved, but legislation should be proposed to the Reichstag for restricting the powers of the Council. On these points it was possible to proceed at once and to lay before the Reichstag the law upon the registration of landed property, that portion of the industrial regulations still to be introduced, the grants to be asked for girls' high schools, possibly a law reintroducing the former game laws, a law forbidding the letting of shooting property, and, finally, a pension law.

The following measures were resolved to secure the safety of the province:

- (1) The dissolution of the federate associations.
- (2) A decree concerning the permission for residence required by French officers and Frenchmen in general.
- (3) The expulsion of all agitators, whether foreigners or natives.
- (4) The regulation of the pass system.
- (5) The introduction of a political police.
- (6) No codification of local legislation, but the abolition of the arrangement which makes the appointment of the burgo-master dependent upon election by the local council.
- (7) A redistribution of local districts.
- (8) The suppression and prohibition of dangerous newspapers, the exclusion of French newspapers, so far as this may be necessary, and the prohibition of foreign shooting tenancies.

As regards the French education of the clergy, the Chancellor is ready to use his good offices in Rome.

The Chancellor regards a Secretary of State as superfluous. At first he was inclined to consider Puttkamer as a suitable candidate, but has since revised his views and thinks Puttkamer too liberal and not sufficiently energetic. For the Interior I may choose whom I will.

Upon my observing that I had imagined he would abolish the Statthalter, he fetched the draft Bill which had been proposed to him, but which he will oppose in the Ministerial Council. In this Bill the Statthalter is abolished, replaced by a supreme president, and the administration is transferred to Berlin. This he will not have. He asked me to make an abstract of our conversation and of the measures we had discussed, "which would enable him to oppose the Bill in question in the Ministerial Council." This I then did, with the help of Back.

On the 20th I waited upon the Emperor to lay the case before him. The Russian Grand Dukes had arrived, but none the less he received me (in Russian uniform). I informed him of the result of my conversation with the Imperial Chancellor,

by which he was much gratified. He then said: "The Prince has spoken to me of the proposed partition and abolition of the Statthaltership. I have declared myself decidedly against it. It is senseless to overthrow all that has been done merely because the elections have turned out badly." He was obviously rather excited about it. I naturally thanked him from my heart.

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

BERLIN, *March 20, 1887.*

In our conversation of the 19th inst. your Highness expressed yourself as opposed to the changes contained in a draft Bill before you dealing with the administration of Alsace-Lorraine, and your Highness was good enough to tell me that you would oppose this measure. My hearty thanks are due to your Highness for the mark of confidence expressed by this declaration, and this confidence it will be my effort to justify. These efforts, however, will only be possible upon the condition that I return to Strassburg with undiminished prestige, and that the post of Statthalter is not so restricted as to reduce its occupant to a mere figurehead. In my opinion, no disadvantage can result from the postponement of projected changes in the administration by means of legislation until trial has been made of a new administration reinforced by capable officials, and until a simplification of the government has been secured by the issue of special orders. From this point of view I consider it absolutely necessary that the fourth department of the Ministry should be abolished, and that Burgomaster Back undertake the administration of the interior. The removal of Mayr I regard as essential, in view of the feeling against him which prevails throughout the provinces. If the introduction of these new methods should make legislative changes advisable, I may reasonably be allowed to hope that I may be permitted myself to propose such modifications as are necessary, after full discussion with those who are acquainted with local conditions in the provinces. Decision upon the proposed abolition of the post of Secretary of State can be postponed during this time.

As regards the introduction of more constant communication between the central Imperial Government and the provincial administration which is here thought desirable, I would point out that proposals have been made for legislation in the Reichstag upon the provinces which would produce constant personal communications between the administration of Alsace-Lorraine and the central Imperial Government, and would avoid that danger of friction which the introduction of a special Government office in Berlin for the provinces would inevitably cause.

Journal.

BERLIN, *March 27, 1887.*

Yesterday I spent the whole morning with Gossler, who discussed the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine without reserve. As

Secretary of State he recommended to me either Handjery or Studt. The latter is said to be a man of high honour. If Back takes the Interior and Studt the Finances I shall have two devoted servants and the Ministry will be entirely composed of Prussian officials. I am told that Handjery is to be avoided, as he might easily conceive the idea of becoming Statthalter himself. In the afternoon I had discussions with different people.

To-day at ten o'clock I called upon Bleichröder, who has spoken with Bötticher. Bötticher has as yet no definite project, but he wishes to transfer the Government to Berlin, and to leave the Statthalter a mere figurehead. Bleichröder stated that this was unacceptable to myself. I informed him of the contents of my letter to Bismarck, and he promised to make a speech from that point of view. He advised that the post of State Secretary should again be filled, and thinks that Puttkamer should be chosen to satisfy the National Liberals. He will attempt to persuade the Chancellor to adopt this view.

Back arrived about twelve o'clock, and said that Verdy, who had been at Bötticher's house in the evening, had given him news identical with that of Bleichröder. Thereupon Verdy offered the extraordinary observation that an ambassadorial post in Rome was now vacant where I might be employed!

March 29.

Yesterday morning I called upon Wilmowski, Bleichröder, and Holstein to inquire how matters had gone in the Ministerial Council. They, however, had no information, and I was therefore obliged to go to Friedberg, who told me that the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine had been discussed in the Ministerial Council. He said that the Chancellor had spoken of my note and my letter. The debate seems to have gone partly against me. Eventually the Chancellor commissioned the Minister Bötticher to draft a Bill and be done with it. Friedberg advised me to write to the Chancellor and tell him that I would take in hand the changes in the *personnel*.

I then had a long conversation with Puttkamer,* whom I questioned concerning Studt, whereupon he urgently recommended him. In the evening I had dinner with Marquardsen, and then accompanied him to a lecture upon Guinea, where I nearly went to sleep, and then went to the Kneipe of the National Liberals, who received me very kindly. I had a talk with Benignsen, who advised me not to agree to a partition of the government between Berlin and Strassburg. He also agreed with me that I could not possibly maintain my ground in Strassburg with diminished powers as a mere giver of dinners.

To-day I was with Bleichröder, and I learnt nothing except that he considers the war with Russia a certainty if the Emperor William dies.

* The Prussian Minister of the Interior.

My plan is now as follows: First to go to Wilmowski and tell him that I will propose the changes of *personnel* to the Emperor.

Secondly, to seek an audience with the Emperor, lay the proposals before him, and beg that he will give me time and will not agree to the Bill.

Thirdly, the moment before the audience, to send to Puttkamer the letter respecting Studt.

Fourthly, after the audience, to go to Puttkamer and tell him what I have arranged with the Emperor.

Fifthly, to send the letter to Bismarck.

On the evening of the 30th, when with the Empress, I heard through the Grand Duke that the Emperor could not yet receive me, as he was too unwell. This is the case to-day also; therefore I must wait.

At twelve o'clock I was with the Crown Prince, who spoke little, since he is still hoarse; but he asked me to give him a detailed account of my experiences here. I did so. He listened with great interest, smiled occasionally or shook his head, and then asked if I wished him to do anything. This I gratefully declined, but stipulated that I might appeal for his help, if necessary. He said: "I hear nothing. I learn everything through the newspapers, and then the Emperor is ninety years old!"

Early on the 31st I was at Wilmowski, after I had received the telegram about the supplement to the *Post*.* I told him that so much is said about the changes in Alsace-Lorraine that the authority of the Government was endangered by it. Whether the draft of the Bill now discussed were accepted or no, in any case the Government must be continued. But that would only be possible if my authority over the public officers and inhabitants were not shaken. If I now went back and resumed office with the same men, with no one to take Hofmann's place, and so forth, I should be looked upon as a sick man. But if I took back with me nominations for Studt and Back, and if Mayr and Ledderhose† were discharged, this would show that I had still some power. As to my right to do so there was no doubt. The Chancellor had given me a free hand; Puttkamer had agreed. I added that in reality the position was this: Rottenburg and Bötticher wished to displace me, to make Berlepsch President, and to transfer the Government to Berlin. Since the Emperor had declined the direct proposal to abolish the post of Statthalter, they were endeavouring to paralyse me by diminishing the powers of the Statthalter, partially transferring them to the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin, preventing me from replacing useless by useful officials. I must on this account lay my proposals directly

* A supplement to the *Strassburger Post* had announced the abolition of the Statthaltership, of the Ministry, and of the Provincial Council as imminent.

† Under-Secretary to the Ministerial Department of Public Works.

before the Emperor. As far as concerned the legislative alterations — for example, the much-disputed centralisation in Berlin — I would beg his Majesty to allow me to make the trial for at least a year, and to decline the suggested proposals for alterations in the administration. Wilmowski agreed to everything, and especially that I should myself lay the case before the Emperor. Then I went to the palace, but heard that the Emperor could not receive me that day, as the Minister of War had had an audience. I should be sent for the next day. So I had to wait. This was very annoying, as there was the possibility that the Emperor would not be able to receive me even the next day. In that case my plan would be much endangered, for everything depended on carrying out a *coup de surprise*.

On the morning of April 1 I sent Thaden to the palace, who brought me word that the Emperor was well and would see me. I waited till midday, and then received the news that the Emperor would see me at 1.15. I went in, took the clean copies with me, and found the Emperor rather weak, but quite cheerful. I put the case before him as I had represented it to Wilmowski. The Emperor listened attentively, and repeated that he was still determined not to abolish the Statthalter. Then he asked me whether the Chancellor agreed to the proposals. I answered that he had given me a free hand. I discussed the changes of *personnel*, and the Emperor then asked whether I had the fair copies with me. When I replied "Yes," he said, "Then I can sign it at once."

I laid everything before him, and he signed his name four times. Then I drove home satisfied. Soon the Grand Duke of Baden came to tell me of his conversation with Bismarck the day before. Bismarck was against an alteration in Alsace-Lorraine; against the abolition of the Statthalter, and against the removal of the Government to Berlin. He had only agreed to the composition of a draft Bill because he did not wish to oppose the Ministers, who, with the exception of Friedberg, object to the retention of the Statthaltership. The Grand Duke had got the impression that Bismarck would finally let the matter drop. He was delighted at my dismissal of Mayr. Fischer, of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, spoke in the same way; he is quite convinced that Mayr has worked against me here.

Speech at the dinner of the Consistory of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, May 1887.

The President in eloquent words has proposed the health of his Majesty the Emperor, and at the same time mentioned me, and I hasten to reply with an expression of my thanks to him, and of my wishes for the best success to the deliberations of the Consistory.

I may here refer to the impression that I always receive when

I find myself within the foundation of St. Thomas, surrounded by the representatives of the Alsatian Church of the Augsburg Confession. I am impressed by the remembrance of the great theologians whom Alsace has sent out, and I make no distinction between theologians before and after the Reformation, no distinction between Tauler and Geiler of Kaysersberg, and Spener and his contemporaries. For the common characteristic of these theologians consists in the fact that they knew how to foster the spirit of practical Christianity, and raised this spirit above the scholasticism of the Middle Ages on the one hand and the bickering of theologians after the Reformation on the other. They carried this spirit over the Rhine, and sowed the seed of which they reaped rich fruit, and knit together a bond of gratitude and sympathy which consciously and unconsciously lives on in modern times. This bond cannot but have influenced the hopes which inspired us in the year 1870, and which were but recently described as vain by impatient minds. I cling fast to these hopes, and I believe that you do also, gentlemen, and will co-operate in their realisation.

From an address at Buchsweiler, at the presentation of the colours of the Kreisverein, June 5, 1887.

The Burgomaster has said kind words of greeting to myself and the other guests, in his own name and in that of his fellow-citizens. He has given words to the signs of friendly sentiment with which I met on the outskirts of this town. For this I thank him heartily on behalf of myself and the guests. These signs of friendly feeling are gratifying to me, though they do not surprise me. For I know that till recently Buchsweiler and Hanau have stood in close union with Old Germany. There, indeed, has German sentiment maintained its ground. These signs have been welcome to me at a time when doubt and unrest are passing through the minds of men in this country. I therefore make use of the opportunity offered to-day for a few candid words. We have duly united Alsace and Lorraine with the German Empire, with the universal approbation of the German nation, because the experience of centuries forced us to secure our western frontier. As soon as the European situation is threatening, or appears threatening, the question confronts us whether this frontier is really secure. This lays obligations on the Government of the country, which it must fulfil. I do not mean to regard this zeal for the safety of the country as the only business of the Government. Our problem is greater; it embraces a wide field of fruitful activity in intellectual and material matters. The Government will endeavour to solve these problems, and looks for the confidence and co-operation of the people. My toast implies this mutual confidence and this common zeal.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, June 11, 1887.

Count Leusse of Reichshofen came to lunch a few days ago. He talked of the interview of the Crown Prince with the Comte de Paris in the Italian watering-place last autumn, and asserted that very important matters had been discussed, and the possibility of the return of Orléans to the French throne had been debated. The Comte de Paris, when he heard that Leusse was coming here, commissioned him to tell me that the Prince did not think of making compacts with the Crown Prince behind the Chancellor's back. He knew very well that it was not possible to carry through a political movement against the Chancellor's will. As he knew that the Prince was not in favour of the restoration of the monarchy in France, the Comte de Paris would wait until the Prince had changed his views and had become convinced that an end should be made of the Republic in France. The Comte de Paris now asks to be notified when this time shall have arrived. His organisation is complete for accomplishing the restoration.

Address in Rappoltsweiler, June 22, 1887.

I have been fortunate since I began my journey through the province. On the first day of my excursion the clouds disappeared, and the sun shone brightly over the land, and has accompanied me until to-day. In this I see a good omen, and hope that in the political world also the clouds will disperse, and that here too sunshine may break over the land, and peace enter into the minds of men. I will do what lies in my power to accomplish this end. But I need the confidence of the people in my endeavours. Only when supported by this confidence can I champion the interests of Alsace and Lorraine in all directions. Hence I greatly value the friendly reception which has been accorded me in this town and the words of confidence with which the Burgomaster has welcomed me.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, July 1, 1887.

Some time ago Studt* had informed me that in Berlin a further simplification of the administration of Alsace and Lorraine was considered necessary. Yesterday he gave me a memorandum in which are to be found the ideas he gathered in Berlin. According to this, the judicature is to be joined to the first department, and trade and commerce transferred to the department of finance, and there will only be left a Secretary of State and an Under-Secretary. Puttkamer must then be President† in Kolmar, be

* Since April 1 Under-Secretary to the Ministerial Department of the Interior.

† Of the Provincial Court of Appeal.

styled Excellency, and retain his salary. Apart from the fact that the duties of the Secretary of State, who would have the Interior and Justice, would be very heavy, it must be remembered that I should not be well supported against the Provincial Council by Back and Studt. Studt is no speaker, and Back cannot make head against the Council. Also Puttkamer has a position in the Federal Council which the other two could not fill. Studt says that this plan of simplification would strengthen my position here and in Berlin. That is possible. Perhaps I shall thereby win the support of Bötticher and Friedberg. But if the Government makes itself ridiculous Bötticher and his party will be the first to throw stones at me. If I have a sensible man like Puttkamer at my side I can better oppose the gentlemen in Berlin. But if the Government here gradually crumbles away it will be easy for the gentlemen in Berlin to overthrow the whole fabric. I therefore intend to leave things as they are, to hand over the Secretaryship of State to Puttkamer, and in any case to await the winter. Puttkamer is sensible, ready of speech, acquainted with local conditions, and devoted to me as far as it is to his interest, especially if he has the prospect of becoming State Secretary in time.

EMS, *July 6, 1887.*

Yesterday I was at breakfast with the Empress, in Coblenz; then at dinner with Alexander and Thaden, and in the evening at tea. The Empress was kind, as usual. Prince Hermann of Weimar talked so much about London that at tea the Empress could hardly get in a word. After tea we drove direct to the station, and were here at eleven o'clock.

This morning promenade at the baths; then breakfast on the Pilz with Prince Wilhelm, Prince Nicholas of Nassau, Perponcher, Reischach, and others. My arrival was announced and cards left by Thaden and Alexander. Meanwhile I went for a walk with Radolinski, who had to-day brought news of the Crown Prince. Mackenzie seems to have been right. The doctors in Berlin wished to operate. At the last moment Mackenzie came, at the wish of the Berlin physicians, and prevented the operation. Bismarck had been to the Emperor and opposed the operation. Want of sympathy was apparent in the old gentleman and the Court — viz., those about him. Prince Wilhelm wished to represent him in London, and was much put out, as the Crown Prince is going himself. There are people who have a preference for Prince Wilhelm as successor, and probably encourage him. The Chancellor is for the Crown Prince. It is to be hoped he will recover, for Prince Wilhelm is still too young.

I spoke about Puttkamer with Wilmowski. He strongly advised me not to dismiss him now, and told me to say in Berlin that I cannot dispense with his talent and experience, and must in the meantime retain him. He is surprised that Bismarck is now

against Puttkamer, and does not understand it. Probably in Berlin they wish me to make myself ridiculous. Wilmowski considers Studt a cautious and able official. At three o'clock I was with the Emperor. I found him physically weak, but looking well and intellectually vigorous. He spoke of the sentences in Leipzig,* of the sensation which they had occasioned in France, and said, "They are indeed terrible neighbours." I told him of the temper in Alsace. He asked whether I was content with the officials I had chosen, said that Studt had pleased him, and agreed with me when I said that I could not put Puttkamer on one side. He did not, however, go into details. Concerning my journey to France, he thought it would still be better to wait. Then he talked of Paris, of his stay there in 1814 and 1815, of his dinner with the Empress Josephine in Malmaison, &c. In conclusion I thanked him for the favour he had shown me in the early part of the year. He took this very graciously, and said that he was pleased to see that I regarded my problem so earnestly and understood so well how to solve it. Then he said, "My compliments to the Princess!"

PRINCE BISMARCK to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

VARZIN, August 9, 1887.

From the direct report upon the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine during the last quarter, communicated to me in duplicate upon the 25th ult. by Under-Secretary of State von Puttkamer, I have been most interested to observe that the stricter administration introduced by your Highness has not been without a good effect on the population. We may conclude, in my opinion, from this fact that we are now on the right path.

I do not know what truth there is in the report repeated by different newspapers of the formation of an Old German separate party, which is said to have made its influence felt at the last Reichstag election in Strassburg.† If this is the case, and if a considerable number of the immigrant Old Germans have declared against the only German-minded candidate for the Reichstag which Alsace has yet produced, it must be the result of an inclination to subordinate State interests to personal feelings to which State officials have no right, and which, in my opinion, should be sternly dealt with in the provinces, in view of their dangerous situation. This is upon the assumption asserted in the newspapers that the agitation, directly or indirectly, proceeds from State officials belonging to the teaching profession, or is

* Several Alsatian members of the Patriotic League were condemned for making preparations to commit high treason on July 18.

† In consequence of the death of Deputy Kablé a by-election took place in Strassburg on July 21, in which the Protest party refrained from voting or gave in empty papers, and the German candidate, Dr. Petri, was elected. 1163 votes were cast for Field-Marshal Moltke.

favoured by them. Such action would tend to the disruption of those forces which are intended to oppose French nationalism and can only be effective if they act in union, and such disruption can only have disastrous effects upon the ultimate situation in the Imperial provinces.

Hence it seems important to the foreign policy of the Empire to determine whether there is any truth in the newspaper reports of the proceedings upon the election of Herr Petri. In my opinion, it would then be advisable to find a remedy which would not shrink from even more stringent treatment of the officials in the exposed Imperial provinces, should these gentlemen oppose the Imperial Government or make any public refusal of co-operation in its policy.

VON BISMARCK.

To PRINCE BISMARCK.

STRASSBURG, *August 19, 1887.*

I beg to offer my hearty thanks to your Highness for your kind letter of the 9th inst. The agreement which it expresses with the measures I have taken is especially grateful to myself, and encourages me to pursue that path which your Highness recognises as right. I only regret that I cannot publish your Highness's confidential statement, in order once and for all to put an end to the rumour which continually recurs of a difference of opinion existing between your Highness and myself.

As regards the proceedings which accompanied the last Strassburg election, the newspaper reports are correct. An Old German separatist party has, in fact, been formed. Led by certain professors and headmasters it refuses to contemplate any reconciliation with the people of Alsace-Lorraine, and, therefore, declared itself at the last election against the Alsatian candidates who are friendly to Germany. Although the intentions of the Government were well known to them, these gentlemen not only refused to support the Government in the election, but directly and absolutely opposed its views and its wishes, thus showing a lack of discipline which may be ascribed to the special conditions prevailing in the provinces, though upon the whole I can testify without reserve to the fidelity and devotion of the local officials. I trust that I may be successful by vigorous action in recalling the Imperial officials to a sense of the duty incumbent upon them where such action seems necessary, and in future to prevent the recurrence of the above-mentioned practices.

Journal.

ALT AUSSEE, *September 9, 1887.*

I left Strassburg on Tuesday, September 6, reached Schillingsfürst in the afternoon, and spent the night there. The next morning on again with Thaden. Thaden was travelling from Ansbach

to Podiebrad, and I to Kissingen. In Kissingen I met Rottenburg at the station; he accompanied me to the "Russischen Hof," and told me that Prince Bismarck would call upon me. Dinner was arranged for six o'clock. I remained in my rooms, and Prince Bismarck came about five. I told him that the object of my journey was to inform him of my Russian inheritance,* and to request his protection in any event. Should the meeting of the Emperors take place in Stettin, I hoped that the Emperor would mention my case to the Czar Alexander. Bismarck said that the plan would not do, as the old gentleman was much too high and mighty, and would not trouble with such diplomatic commissions, but that he, Bismarck, would look after the matter. This I gratefully accepted. Then he asked of my journey to Brittany, and asked how it went off. I related the course of events, emphasising the fact that I had met with a good reception from the French upon the whole, and had been attacked only by the Radical Press. When I mentioned that I was there known as the "Duke of Alba" he laughed, and asked me whether I had ever seen a picture of Alba. He declines to consider the possibility of removing the prohibition against the issue of shooting permits,† although I impressed upon him that to refuse these permissions to the French inhabitants of the provinces was carrying strictness too far. He thinks they are all spies. As regards the meeting of the Emperors, he could not say if it would take place; nothing was known of it in Berlin, and no measures had been taken in view of it. I then mentioned that I now required the services of Schraut,‡ but that I had taken no steps in the matter as the Prince had told me in the spring that he could not do without him. Schraut is himself anxious to secure the Under-Secretaryship of State in Strassburg. Thereupon Bismarck replied: "Well, if that is the case we cannot hail him down, and the thing will no doubt be possible." Rottenberg, to whom I communicated this remark, told me that Schraut had applied to him and asked him to secure him the post. He asked me, therefore, to write to Bismarck on the subject.

During dinner, at which were only the Princess and Rottenburg, besides the Prince and myself, the conversation turned upon the Russian estates, which Bismarck described as the greatest territorial possession in Europe. He said it was quite worth while to take the matter in hand, and he hoped for my sake that all obstacles could be removed.

* After the death of Prince Peter von Sayn-Wittgenstein, on August 20, 1887, the Wittgenstein estates in Russia had reverted to the Princess Hohenlohe. By Russian law she was compelled to sell the estates, as foreigners were not allowed to hold landed property while under the jurisdiction of the Western Government.

† At the instance of the Imperial Government the authorities in Alsace-Lorraine had refused to issue shooting permits to the French.

‡ As the Under-Secretary Back had resolved to retire in order to resume the burgomastership of Strassburg.

BADEN, *October 9, 1887.*

I arrived yesterday morning, and called upon Radziwill. At four o'clock I waited upon the Emperor, who was particularly kind. He said he hoped that my business would allow me to remain in Strassburg, and he even requested that this might be arranged, saying that he had nobody else whom he could send there. I thanked him, and assured him I would remain as long as I possessed his confidence.

Dinner in the castle with the Grand Duke. In the evening visit to the Empress.

I called early this morning upon Wilmowski, who spoke of the Emperor's vexation with Herbert Bismarck over the Schnäbele affair.* Bismarck and the General Staff had been consulted upon the question of the shooting permits.

Lunch at one with the Grand Duchess and the Hohenzollerns. At half-past five to dinner with the Emperor. At eight o'clock an audience of the Empress, who spoke to me of "Léonille." The Grand Duchess came in while I was speaking, and I accompanied her to the Emperor for tea.

Note of the PRINCE for the debate in the Ministerial Conference of October 27.

I should begin with the observation that upon the language question in the local and departmental boards I agree with the proposals of the Under-Secretary of State, Studt, both in principle and detail, and consider it advisable, in view of existing legislation, to introduce a change.

If I have objected to the introduction of this change in the present year, this is rather from personal reasons than on account of matters of fact.

The regulation contemplates the possibility that its execution may meet with obstacles, and that then the removal of the Governmental commissioners and the dissolution of the departmental boards may follow. The friction thus caused would be of no great importance, but might cause considerable uproar in the Press.

I am not intimidated by newspaper attacks or discussions of measures in the Press when the safety of the frontier or the dignity and prestige of the Empire are at stake. I am equally averse to hesitation when the existence of the German nationality in the Imperial provinces is endangered. But this is not the case now. The safety and prestige of the Government will not be endangered by the use of the French language in the affairs of the departmental councils, nor is the safety of the frontier in any way menaced by this practice. As regards the position of German nationalism — in other words, the Germanisation of the

* The arrest of the French Commissioner of Frontier Police, Schnäbele, on the frontier near Pagny on April 20.

people of Alsace-Lorraine — this process will be accelerated by the schools, by the general obligation to military service, and by closer economic connection with Germany. The outlook here is favourable, and even in the ecclesiastical seminaries there is a prospect of removing French influences when the reception of seminarists educated in France has come to an end. I do not consider that German nationalism is endangered if a few old gentlemen who speak no German or speak it badly prefer to conduct the business of their councils in French. I will only add that I can see no danger in a postponement of this regulation, though I am in agreement with it otherwise. I am, however, averse to its immediate introduction for the following reasons.

It cannot be denied that in this year there have been many disturbances in the provinces. The elections, the action against the Patriotic League, house-to-house visitations, expulsions, permits of residence for Frenchmen and their consequences, the question of the shooting permits, the Schnäbele case, and other matters — all these things have attracted the attention of the political world to Alsace-Lorraine. If further trouble should now arise with the provincial boards — a by no means impossible case — the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine would again become an object of general attention, and I fear it would be said there will never be peace in that country! It would be said that the local *Stathalter* is incapable, and that he cannot get on with the inhabitants. Repeated experience shows me that such judgments would be passed, as they have been passed before. I regard it, therefore, as a duty of self-preservation to provide no fresh material for these attacks unless there is absolute necessity. I think I have proved that there is no such pressing necessity in the present instance. I think, therefore, that we should wait until next year, which delay will enable us to make quiet preparations for the measure, both in the Press and by conference with influential members of those corporations.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, February 19, 1888.

Professor Krauss, of Freiburg, was with me to-day. I discussed with him the question of the faculties in Strassburg. He is the only man who can provide information on the subject, as the negotiations in the year 1872 were partly carried on through him and Roggenbach. He says that Bismarck was in favour of them at that time, but the proposal came to nothing because Bishop Raess claimed the right of appointing the professors himself. The co-operation of the Bishop is necessary, but appointment solely through him is inadmissible. On this point there is a convention between Niebuhr and the Roman Secretary of State for the year 1821 respecting the university of Bonn, which might serve as a precedent.

Krauss was strongly attracted by the idea of introducing Benedictines here. He tells me, however, that Father Odilo laments the present scarcity of educated Benedictines. Krauss advises me to speak upon the point with the Abbot Alexander von Mölk. He thinks well of the Capuchins whom Stumpf wishes to bring from Mayence. Father Walter in Beuron is a Jesuit, and therefore untrustworthy. Krauss agrees with me that the Sulpicians are better than the German Jesuit clergy.

STRASSBURG, *March 7, 1888.*

A telegram arrived this afternoon with the news that the Emperor was ill, had had a bad night, and could not eat, and that Prince Wilhelm had been in the palace for three hours and Prince Bismarck for the last two hours. This seems serious. I went to Heuduck, to whom I told the news. He was no less shocked than myself, and thinks that this must be the end. We then spoke of the future. He thinks that if the Emperor were to die the Crown Prince would immediately travel to Berlin. "Then we might have to bury two Emperors within no long space of time!" Hitherto I had assumed that Prince Wilhelm was in complete harmony with Bismarck. Heuduck agrees to this, but says that there are signs that when the Prince becomes Emperor he will not be able to live in permanent agreement with Bismarck. It seems that Conservative influences opposed to Bismarck will become operative. This would be unfortunate. The Prince is, in any case, not popular in Germany, and will have to be very careful to turn public opinion in his favour.

The conversation then turned upon Waldersee and his appointment to Strassburg. Heuduck says there is no question of anything of the kind. There is, however, a strong party in Berlin which is anxious to drive Waldersee out of office. The Imperial Chancellor is no longer one of his supporters. Heuduck regrets this, for he regards Waldersee as a highly competent and experienced Chief of the General Staff, whose place would be difficult to fill.

BERLIN, *March 19, 1888.*

On Wednesday night I started for Berlin with Jordan and Thaden in a sleeping-car to Frankfort, arriving in Berlin at eight o'clock in the evening. Ernst Ratibor met me at the station, and accompanied me to the Hôtel Continental, where I had dinner with Victor, and then went to the Moltkestrasse. Thursday was spent in visits and calls. In the afternoon I went with Philipp Ernst to the cathedral, where the Emperor's body was lying in state. It was a beautiful and solemn scene, and I looked with grief again upon the old man, who for so many years had been my kind protector, and whom I keep in faithful memory.

The funeral obsequies were performed on the Friday. I stood

near the coffin with the Knights of the Order of the Black Eagle. At the coffin stood the chief Court officials and the Ministers, and at the head General Pape, with the Imperial banner, and two adjutant-generals. Kögel delivered a very affecting oration. When the ceremony was concluded the procession drew up before the church. We walked to the Siegesallee, whence the coffin was escorted to Charlottenburg by the adjutants and the Court alone. The other participants went home. The procession was rather sombre, as all were wearing cloaks and overcoats, necessitated by the cold.

On Sunday, the 18th, I had an audience of the Grand Duchess of Baden and the Empress Augusta. The latter looked better and stronger than we had expected. She spoke very kindly, and thanked me for my faithful service, which the Emperor had always recognised. I replied that I had ever been the Emperor's devoted servant, and should always retain a grateful memory of the many proofs of his favour. In the afternoon I called upon Holstein, who spoke for a time of Alsace-Lorraine, and then of the situation here. He said the Imperial Chancellor was very well satisfied with the way in which the Emperor performs his business.

On Monday, the 19th, I waited upon the Empress Victoria, and introduced the deputation from Metz. I found the Empress unchanged, and her frank and cheerful manner filled me with astonishment.

BERLIN, *March 22, 1888.*

To-day I saw Bötticher, who complained of the interference of the Empress in public business. He said she had induced the Emperor to refuse his signature to the Socialist law,* and that the Emperor only gave way after Bismarck had explained the matter to the Empress. He says that the Emperor has little power of resistance to the influence of the Empress, and that she, again, is under the influence of certain advanced ladies — Frau Schrader, Frau Helmholtz, and Frau von Stockmar. If the Emperor's illness is of long duration all kinds of things may happen. If the Emperor were well, or should become so, the influence of the Empress would diminish. Finally I agreed with Bötticher that I would keep him informed of affairs in Alsace-Lorraine, for which promise he was grateful.

BERLIN, *March 24, 1888.*

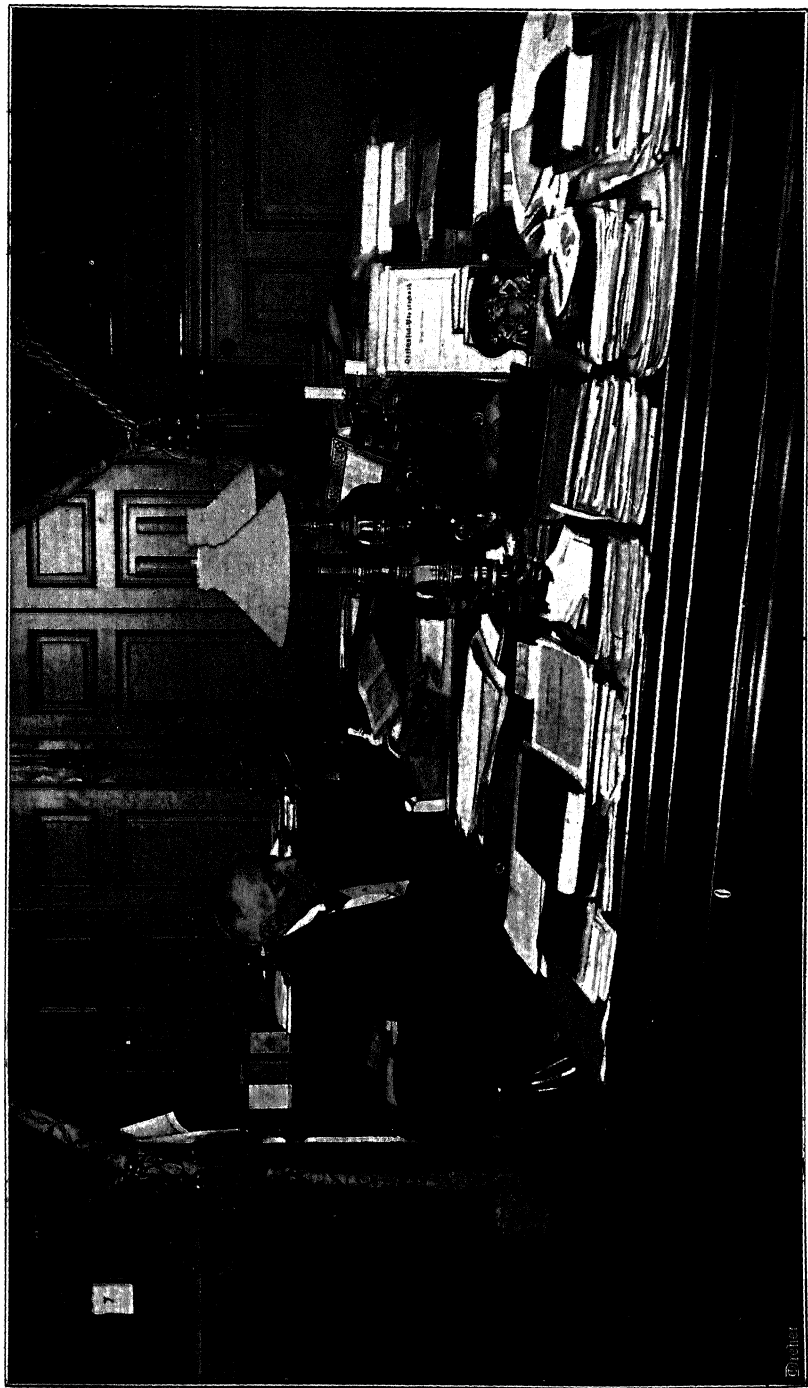
This afternoon I drove to Bismarck before the Court reception. I found him looking well and talkative, though he complains that his powers are at an end. He says he cannot get away, as

* The law was passed by the Reichstag upon a third reading on March 18, and was published on March 26.

otherwise all kinds of absurdities would be committed. We spoke of the administration of the oath to the officials and the Provincial Council. He said that all this might be left alone for the present, as there would soon be changes, and that there was no question of any hope. He admires the Emperor, and is the more sorry for him as he had been told that he was roughly and inconsiderately treated by the English doctors. He understood that they removed the tube to clean it without putting another in its place, neglected his convenience, &c. The Empress too was callous and inconsiderate. If all these stories were true and not exaggerated it would be necessary to send a solicitor-general to protect the Emperor. I did not remain long, as I was obliged to go to the reception. I found many acquaintances there, and the ceremony was soon over, I walking past with Field-Marshal Moltke at the head of the Knights of the Black Eagle.

BERLIN, *March 24, 1888.*

After waiting for a week I thought it advisable to report myself again to the Emperor through the *aide-de-camp*, and therefore sent Thaden to Charlottenburg. I immediately received a request to come at a quarter to one. When I reached Charlottenburg there was bright sunshine, and the Castle looked very inviting, notwithstanding the snow. The rooms within also gave a pleasant impression. I was taken up into the first story to a room which looks on to the park, and thence into the Emperor's study, where I found the Emperor with the Empress. He did not look unusually ill, only thin and somewhat yellow, and the eyes were rather prominent. But on closer observation one notices the suffering expression of the eyes. The Empress excused her presence through the necessity of supporting the Emperor in the conversation. The conversation first turned upon the Emperor's death and the general grief and sympathy manifested throughout all countries. I mentioned the numerous remedies that had been recommended, and the Empress said she had received an infinite number of prescriptions and quantities of water from Lourdes — "enough for us to have bathed in." She said she had sent all this to the monasteries. When the Empress remarked that I looked very well, I replied that this was due to hard work, which was an excellent thing for the health, and that I also thought that the Emperor would benefit by the amount of work he had, at which he nodded approvingly. The Empress regretted that the Emperor could not take the fresh air, to which I replied that the rooms were very lofty and cheerful, and that the weather would soon become milder. The Emperor then wrote some words of sympathy with the death of Peter, whom he had known since childhood. When the Emperor got up and went to the stove to cough the Empress asked me: "Don't you think he is looking pretty well?" I was able to reply in the



PRINCE HOHENLOHE
From a photograph of the Strassburg period

affirmative. Visitors were then announced, and when I took my leave and expressed my sincere wishes for his recovery the Emperor placed his hand on my shoulder and smiled sadly, so that I could hardly restrain my tears. He gave me the impression of a martyr; and, indeed, no martyrdom in the world is comparable with this slow death. Every one who comes near him is full of admiration for his courageous and quiet resignation to a fate which is inevitable, and which he fully realises. No doubt I saw him yesterday for the last time.

BERLIN, *March 25, 1888.*

This afternoon I waited upon the Crown Prince, with whom I remained for a considerable time. He asked how matters looked in Alsace-Lorraine, mentioned that the inhabitants had recently given proof of great loyalty, &c. We then went on to speak of the condition in the provinces and the possibility of a war. He then referred to the Imperial palace of Strassburg, confirmed his father's decision, and declared himself ready to present it as a museum, but he said it would be necessary for the province to grant a million and a half for the restoration of Saverne and of the castle in Strassburg. We then referred to Russia, and he praised the Emperor as a good and honourable man, but said that he was rushing upon the fate of Louis XVI.

STRASSBURG, *May 8, 1888.*

Since last spring, in consequence of the excitement produced by the result of the elections, we have introduced a number of more or less vexatious measures, which have aroused much ill-feeling. Prince Bismarck thereupon desired me to introduce the system of compulsory passports against France, which existing legislation allows me to do upon my own initiative. He informed me that our ambassador at Paris would not be allowed to *visa* any pass without previously asking permission, so that infinite delays would arise in consequence. There is no doubt that this measure would not only excite general surprise and excitement, but would also greatly embitter the local population. It seems that Berlin desires to introduce these irritating measures with the object of reducing the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine to despair and driving them to revolt, when it will be possible to say that the civil Government is useless and that martial law must be proclaimed. The power will then pass to the general-in-command, the Statthalter will be obliged to retire, the generals will then again pursue a pacific policy, and the Governor will be an object of ridicule for his failure. I am therefore resolved to refuse Bismarck's proposal, even at the risk of falling out with Bismarck and Bismarck junior. We shall see what will happen. The Under-Secretaries of State think that I shall be obliged to agree to Bismarck's wishes. This, however, is the last opportunity of

coming honourably out of the business. If I yield now I cannot avert the final catastrophe of a military Government, and shall be unable to resign with honour.

To acting Privy Councillor von Wilmowski, Chief of the Civil Household.

STRASSBURG, May 10, 1888.

I have the honour to make the following communication to your Excellency.

In the course of last year the idea was mooted from time to time in Berlin that it was necessary to make passports obligatory on the French frontier in Alsace-Lorraine. The idea was, however, not pursued further, and I was already hoping that it had been given up when in February of this year the matter was again touched upon in a letter from Count Herbert Bismarck. I objected to this measure, and stated my reasons in detail, but received a communication, dated April 19, and signed by Prince Bismarck himself, in which Prince Bismarck maintained his view, pointing out the necessity of furthering the economical separation of Alsace-Lorraine from France by such checks on intercourse, and announcing his intention of directing the Imperial Embassy in Paris to *visa* the passports of those persons only whose admittance into Alsace-Lorraine should be agreed to by the authorities of the Imperial province. At the conclusion of his communication the Imperial Chancellor requested me to issue the necessary regulations for the introduction of such compulsory passports.

In my answer of yesterday's date I refused compliance, since I considered the regulations hitherto in force sufficient to render the entrance of Frenchmen difficult. It is known that no Frenchman may take up his stay here without being authorised by the authorities. These restrictions have already aroused great discontent. If to these were added regulations wasting time and money, public feeling would be embittered to such a degree that it would soon be necessary to declare a state of siege. In this way a consummation would be reached which to many military minds appears to be the most desirable solution of the problems of Alsace-Lorraine. But since I intend to remain at my post so long as I retain the confidence of his Majesty, I can hardly be expected to saw off the branch on which I am sitting. But, apart from my own feelings, the consequences of the introduction of such irritating passport regulations would be of so serious a nature for our relations with France that I have no desire to draw on myself in the eyes of the world the odium of having by my administration prepared the way for war. I beg your Excellency, if you should discuss the matter with his Majesty or the Crown Prince, to be kind enough to make plain my reasons for refusal.

To the same.

STRASSBURG, *May 17, 1888.*

In connection with my communication of the 10th inst., I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the Imperial Chancellor, in a further communication of the 14th inst., in which he lays stress on his responsibility for the external politics of the Empire, and refers to the concurrence of the greater and even the less interested States of the union, repeats his request that I should withdraw my opposition to the introduction of compulsory passports in Alsace-Lorraine.

In these circumstances, and since Prince Bismarck also foreshadows that, in case of necessity, the Federal Union would take the necessary action for safeguarding the Imperial frontier, in so far as the provincial administration might hesitate to take adequate measures in accordance with the laws affecting its sphere of action, I must withdraw my opposition to a measure the responsibility for which will not be mine, and intend to write in this sense to the Imperial Chancellor.

As I consider it advisable to come to some verbal agreement in Berlin as to the practical carrying out of the measure, and as I am obliged by private matters also to come to Berlin early next week, I request you, if possible, to obtain the consent of his Majesty the Emperor to my journey.

Journal.

STRASSBURG, *May 17, 1888.*

The question of compulsory passports has given rise to various written explanations with the Chancellor. I asked Victor's opinion, and he informed me of Holstein's and Friedberg's advice to give in on the matter. But before I did this I went to Karlsruhe to discuss it with the Grand Duke. We agreed that after the last communication with Prince Bismarck of the 14th inst. there remained but the choice between resigning or giving in. The Grand Duke did not consider the occasion a suitable one for resigning. At the same time, he gave me some information about the seriousness of the situation. Matters seem to be in a very queer state in the world. A Franco-Russian intrigue has been set on foot, by which Spezzia was to be, or still is to be, seized by France. This would lead to war with Italy, and in the meanwhile we should be busied with Russia. This war between France and Italy would be extended so as to give back to the Pope a part of his temporal power. If it then came to a war of the French Republic intervening on behalf of the Pope, Austria would be unwilling to enter the field for Italy and against the Pope, and the German Catholics would also not take part in the war with enthusiasm. Russia counts on this, and France seems to agree with her. England is said to have ordered the Duke of Edinburgh to bombard Toulon in case France took Spezzia. On this the scheme

seems to have gone to pieces. This news seems to have been brought to Berlin by Galimberti. As to the Battenberg affair, the Grand Duke stated that the crisis was a somewhat serious one. The Empress had said that in the end it would be no misfortune if Bismarck did retire. This was at once retailed to him, whereupon the newspaper war. Mallet reported to Queen Victoria at Florence that it was very disadvantageous for English interests that the Queen should appear to interest herself in the Battenberg match. It would be well, more particularly in view of her impending visit to Berlin, to prevent people from thinking she favoured the marriage. The English Ministry also concurred in this. Thereupon Queen Victoria wrote a severe letter to her daughter, the Empress; and during her stay also she expounded her views in an energetic fashion, which produced unhappy and tearful scenes. It seems that the Grand Duke acted the intermediary very prudently. The relations between Queen Victoria and the Imperial Chancellor have shaped very well. They were enchanted with each other.

BERLIN, *May 24, 1888.*

Yesterday at four o'clock I was commanded to the Empress Frederick. We spoke of the Emperor's illness, about which the Empress seems still to entertain some illusions. It is perhaps possible that the illness will be of long duration. The hopes for a speedy end have not yet been confirmed. The Empress mentioned that the Duchess of Galliera had interested herself on behalf of Rothan.* I replied to her that his return would be frustrated by the refusal of "the great man," as the Empress expressed it. That the Empress admitted.

BERLIN, *May 25, 1888.*

Yesterday I was at Charlottenburg at the marriage of Prince Henry. The festivities were short, but most brilliant. The Emperor came into the chapel to the ceremony. He looked very worn, and soon retired. He was not present at the breakfast. I sat between Pless and Goltz opposite to the Royal personages, and made reflections on the faces of the most exalted princes and princesses. After the breakfast there was no reception, but everybody went home.

To-day at half-past twelve I was commanded to the Emperor. I found him better than I had expected — pale and thin, indeed, but more interested and gayer than the last time. He wrote on a slip what was the importance of the passport in Alsace-Lorraine. I spoke at length with him on the matter, and he listened with attention. I reported to him the whole correspondence about it with the Imperial Chancellor. As I mentioned that in France they were very bitter against me, he asked the reason.

* A French diplomatist who had been expelled from Alsace.

I instanced all the measures, and said that the refusal of shooting permits had particularly roused much bitterness. Then he asked me how my family was. I mentioned that I was soon to go to Vienna to a wedding.* He made signs of being interested, laying his hand on his heart. Then he dismissed me.

In the afternoon I was with the Crown Prince, who considered the measure for compulsory passports necessary, and shares the view of the military that Frenchmen must be roughly treated. I did not agree, but remarked that the French nation feared war. We then came to speak about Russian affairs, which he judged correctly. He does the Emperor of Russia full justice, but regrets that he should be so lazy and such a fanatic in religion. He said that Bismarck got on very well with the Emperor, but the latter had the mistrust of all less gifted men for greater individualities. He told me of the interview between Bismarck and the Emperor, and of the forged papers which had been made and read to him in order to keep him from coming to Berlin or Stettin. All was ready, the yacht with steam up in the harbour, when the Emperor had found the documents on his writing-table. That had annoyed him, and therefore the interview in Stettin did not take place. The Crown Prince believes that Mohrenheim, Catakazy, and Ignatiew had done the thing, and had sent to Copenhagen through the Grand Duke Alexis.

BERLIN, *May 26, 1888.*

I went this afternoon to Friedberg, who spoke to me further about passport matters. The Imperial Chancellor read my letter, which Friedberg designated as somewhat strong, at the Cabinet meeting, and expressed an opinion that it seemed as if I did not wish to remain any longer. He enumerated the reasons which supported his view and seem to have not exactly convinced but overawed his colleagues. Friedberg opined that it is not a good occasion for retirement, and that I did well to remain.

Thence I went to Bleichröder, who first spoke to me of Russian affairs, and declared that the Russian Minister of Finance was inclined to come to an agreement with the German Government, and would take care that the Ukase of March 1881 should be set aside.

Reverting to politics, Bleichröder said that he could no longer understand the Wilhelmstrasse. He did not see why France should be threatened, because they were very willing there to remain at peace with us. Neither did he see any reason for threatening Russia. Happily at the last moment Bismarck had inhibited the increase of duty on grain. By this ceaseless baiting the value of the rouble was lowered, and Russia placed so that it is to her advantage to send her exports to Germany.

* Of the Prince's nephew, Prince Konrad, with Countess Schönborn, which took place on June 10, 1888.

If the rouble rose Russia would have no advantage in continuing her exports to Germany. Bleichröder maintains that Bismarck leaves his son too free a hand. He had grown too rich. From which followed that Bismarck at any price would remain in office, even under the Government of the present Crown Prince. Bismarck a few months ago had declared to the Crown Prince that he would devote his services to him also, but would not remain if the Crown Prince wanted war. Now, Bleichröder thinks he would remain even at the price of war. The present baitings are a concession to the future Emperor and his military advisers.

At Wilmowski's, whom I afterwards visited, I found the same fears and the same displeasure with regard to Herbert Bismarck, whom he too considers as a misfortune for the Empire. The Crown Prince, he said, is under the influence of Waldersee and Herbert Bismarck. Both were working for war, whereas Wilmowski is of the opinion that no war should be waged, for the simple reason that we are better prepared than our opponents. Under such conditions the enthusiasm of the nation for war would be lacking, and that was very serious.

Circumstances here displease me intensely. It is a pity that I couldn't retire now as a strong protest against all these goings on.

Princess Bismarck is seriously ill. The Prince comes back to-morrow morning.

BERLIN, *May 30, 1888.*

I went this afternoon to the Foreign Office, where I only found Lindau. At six o'clock dinner with the Imperial Chancellor, who was very amiable. After dinner we again talked about compulsory passports, and the Prince thought that the request of the Oriental Express Company should be granted.

I shall therefore receive a notification of consent. I therefore telegraphed to Studt that he might allow the examination to take place on the train. When I came to speak about the feeling in Alsace-Lorraine, and remarked that the people of Alsace-Lorraine began to think that they were paying too high a salary for the unpleasantnesses which I prepared for them the Prince laughed, and said that the Duke of Alva had also made much money in the Netherlands. As far as compulsory passports were concerned, he thought that it was only a means of showing the French that their outcry did not frighten us and we had nothing to fear from them. The talk then turned on Tisza and his speech,* which he praised highly. It was good that he had said that, for the Austrians were always afraid of opposing France. On the whole I found his attitude somewhat conciliatory.

* On May 26 in the Hungarian Parliament. On the occasion of an interpellation on the non-participation in the Paris Exhibition Tisza had characterised the situation as serious, and said that no one could answer for it that the Hungarian colours would be becomingly treated in Paris.

The Imperial Chancellor had found the Emperor fairly well. He said that Bergmann had foretold that this improvement would take place in May, and last at most till August. Schweninger, who was dining with us, averred that the end would then be all the more painful. For it was to be feared that then the œsophagus would be attacked.

POTSDAM, *June 22, 1888.*

After I had been informed yesterday by telegraph that I should be received at twelve o'clock by the Emperor and Empress I drove hence at eleven o'clock, and was taken in a Court carriage to the Marble Palace. There I was received by a Court Marshal, von Liebenau, and taken to a drawing-room on the ground floor, where I waited. Soon the Emperor came, and invited me to come with him to an adjoining room. I found him unconstrained, well-disposed, and friendly.

I asked him first about the proclamation, and whether he would issue one to Alsace-Lorraine, remarking at once that I only considered it would be useful if at the same time milder measures could be promised. A proclamation must always contain some evidence of goodwill. If, then, no milder measures followed, the proclamation would be inconsistent with them, and had better not be made. I remarked that the Emperor had formed no opinion on the matter, and did not venture to express a view at variance with the Chancellor. After some hesitation he suggested that he had already issued a proclamation which the people of Alsace-Lorraine might apply to themselves, and, further, he would make a speech from the throne in which Alsace-Lorraine should be referred to. We therefore came to the decision not to make a proclamation for Alsace-Lorraine.

Then I said: "I have again to ask your Majesty for a favour — that your Majesty may act as your illustrious predecessors, particularly his Majesty the late Emperor William, and if anything in my administration displeases that you will at once inform me personally and directly." To which the Emperor heartily agreed. I then continued: "The post of Governor is —" Here the Emperor interrupted: "Somewhat unenviable." Whereupon I continued: "But is much envied, and there are many men striving after it who believe they could fill it better, and in whose way I stand. It lies in human nature to judge unfavourably the man who is standing in your way, and therefrom arise adverse criticisms, which are carried and reported to your Majesty." The Emperor listened attentively, and repeatedly promised to refer directly to me if anything to my disadvantage came to his hearing.

Then he said to me that the State Ministry had proposed Privy Councillor Lucanus as Minister of Public Worship in place of Wilmowski, and that he had accepted him. Wilmowski yesterday knew nothing about it.

Then he came to the palace question, and ordered me to make him definite proposals for the fitting up of the palace in Saverne and the existing library for the Emperor, and for making a museum out of the existing palace.

I then went to the Empress, who received me in a most friendly fashion, and spoke of the illness of the late Emperor. It seems that in the last days the smell was terrible, so that death was a blessing, even for the attendants. We spoke then of all sorts of things. The Empress said that her aunt Amalie was now in Paris, and wrote her indignant letters about the compulsory passports. She said, among other things: "If you, as you say, don't want war, why do you do such silly things?" Then it occurred to the Empress whom she was speaking to, and she became very red. I reassured her, however, and told her that I was quite of her aunt's opinion. In the course of the conversation I learnt that the Empress Augusta had expressed herself very favourably about me to the Emperor and Empress, and that I have to thank her, therefore, for this favourable change.

Having taken leave of the Imperial Family, I went to the Einsiedler, where I lunched, and then at three o'clock went to Schloss Friedrichskron.

There I was received by Seckendorff, and taken up to the first floor, where I found the Empress Victoria. She is very much cast down and shaken, and I am convinced that latterly and during the past year her brightness was assumed. For now I found her in deep grief. She could not speak at first for crying. At first we spoke of the last days of the Emperor; then she roused herself and spoke of the wickedness and meanness of men, hinting at certain personalities. People wanted to obscure the Emperor's memory, and said now that he had not really been capable of ruling and had done nothing, whereas he had strenuously toiled and formed independent conclusions. Herbert Bismarck had had the effrontery to say to the Prince of Wales that an Emperor who couldn't talk was not fit to reign. The Prince had said that had he not valued the good relations between England and Germany he would have thrown him out of the room.

About the elder Bismarck she said that he had now reigned for twenty years untrammelled, and couldn't bear to meet a will in a monarch. The young Emperor was quite in his hands. One couldn't yet know what he would do. The fall of Puttkamer was due to the Emperor, and was not occasioned by her. Bismarck himself wanted to be rid of Puttkamer, and had transferred the odium of his dismissal to the Kaiser, as he always knew how to throw the odium of everything he did on to others. When the talk turned to Waldersee she said he was a false, unscrupulous man, who would not mind ruining his country to satisfy his personal pride. The Emperor Frederick didn't trust him either, and considered him false. Finally she commanded me to thank Thesy and Amalie for their letters.

I then went to the Prince of Wales, who spoke very guardedly, but was exceedingly angered at the boorishness of the Bismarck family, father and son. He cannot comprehend compulsory passports and the system of irritating France. Then back again to Berlin with Reischach, who is to be Court Marshal of the Empress Victoria.

SCHILLINGSFÜRST, *June 27, 1888.*

Yesterday evening at eight o'clock I left Berlin with Thaden, after having dined with Viktor and Franz at the Kaiserhof.

Various visits filled up the day. Friedberg I found somewhat cast down. He is no longer the great man to whom in the Emperor Frederick's time everybody paid court. He knows that the Emperor does not favour the Jews. Then I visited the new Cabinet Councillor Lucanus, a courtly, polished, and obliging man, who looks rather like an elegant Austrian Court councillor. Wilmowski poured forth more confidences to me. At five o'clock to Bleichröder. We spoke — or, rather, *he* spoke — first about the political question. He is content, and says that the Imperial Chancellor is so too. Only the Emperor must take care not to fall into the hands of the Orthodox party. That would not be borne in the country. (He is right there.) Another danger was Waldersee and his following. Waldersee was the opponent of Bismarck, and considered himself capable of and fitted for anything, who will guarantee however that these gentlemen will not begin the old game again and tell the Emperor, "You are really nothing but a puppet. Bismarck reigns." On the old man this had made no deep impression, but the young one would be more impressionable. Bismarck therefore wishes Waldersee's removal, and will even send him if he can to Strassburg as general in command. He is perhaps only using these measures to make my position untenable, and thereby to make an opponent harmless if I retired. Bleichröder says that he only introduced the compulsory passport to show the Emperor that he too could deal harshly with the French, and thereby outdo the military party. Bismarck thinks before everything of planting his son firmly in the saddle. To this end he constantly works and schemes. There is, therefore, no hope that our conditions in Alsace-Lorraine will become better.

As far as Russia is concerned, Bleichröder expects something exotic whereby Russia shall be won over — either the withdrawal of the troops or a meeting of Emperors. The Emperor, says Bismarck, will not begin a war. But if it comes it will not be unwelcome to him.

STRASSBURG, *July 11, 1888.*

Already some considerable time ago the project had been mooted by Schraut, and arrangements made for a visit to the reservoir in the Sewen Valley. This is an artificial lake formed by

a huge embankment which stretches at right angles across the valley. The embankment is 255 metres long, and broad enough for a carriage to drive on it. In the middle there is a channel which serves to convey the water from the lake according to requirements into the Doller, the stream which flows down to Mülhausen. The construction cost 400,000 marks, and is very important for industry and agriculture. It was finished this year.

On Monday afternoon we started. Some of the party, Back and Studdt, had already started; others, in particular the parish councillors, were to meet us on the following morning in Mülhausen. With me went, besides Jordan, Thaden, and Alexander, Puttkamer, Schraut, and some departmental secretaries.

We arrived at Mülhausen at seven o'clock. The reception was not enthusiastic, but polite and seemly. I drove with the Kreisdirektor (Sous-Préfet) and the Mayor to the Central Hotel, where we spent the night. At eight o'clock I gave a supper. Heuduck, who happened to have something to do in Mülhausen, and desired to accompany us to Sewen, was present; then the authorities, some parish councillors and officers — altogether twenty-five persons. There were to be no speeches. However, before supper Jordan brought me a speech which Theodor Schlumberger desired to make. I had therefore to reply, and used the opportunity to give a warning to Berlin and to calm the population here.*

The supper was excellent and "everybody in high spirits." The hotel is one of the best in the country.

In the morning came two civil bands to rejoice me with music,

* The representative of the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Herr Theodor Schlumberger, made the following speech on this occasion:

"It is more than two years since your Highness honoured our town with your first friendly visit. We are therefore pleased again to have the opportunity of greeting your Highness in our midst, although only on a passing visit. We venture to hope that this proof of sympathy will be repeated, and will result in the much-desired alleviations.

"Mülhausen is solely a manufacturing town, a place of work and textile industry.

"Except among those who enjoy a temporary and scanty leisure, art, science, politics, and literature reckon fewer devotees. Tedium, even discomfort, attacks the unoccupied traveller soon after his arrival here. Few among us have either time or opportunity to exercise hospitality.

"He who would know and judge us will certainly go wrong unless he has lived with us for years, and with rare strength of will and self-restraint has freed himself from all prejudice and partisanship. From personal and varied experience I can say that conscious goodwill and friendly advances, time and patience, are likely to gain more from our people than harsh, however justifiable, proceedings.

"May your Highness deign to receive these remarks graciously and our words of welcome and wishes for a more frequent exchange of opinion.

"Long live the Imperial Statthalter, His Highness Prince Hohenlohe!"

To which the Prince replied:

"I thank Herr Schlumberger for his friendly greeting, to which I

and then again a military band. I, of course, had to listen and to show myself on the balcony. Finally, after an hour and a half's endurance, I was free, and drove to the station. At nine o'clock the train which was to take us to Sewen started. The railway goes in a north-westerly direction *via* Lutterbach to Sennheim, then south *via* Aspach and Senthem to Masmünster. At the larger places the train stopped, and I was received by pastors, mayors, school children, and so on, and had to listen to the customary addresses from these white-robed maidens, who assured me that they were happy to greet the honoured Governor, and who are wont to finish with the assurance of especial esteem. Whereupon the Governor shakes hands with the spokeswoman, and strokes the cheeks of her little companions who curtsy around her, and who generally have beautiful curly heads. In Masmünster, a town of four thousand inhabitants, the reception was more brilliant — fire brigade, officials, several parsons, and masses of school children. As the daughter of the notary was just about to begin her speech the fire brigade began to drum and trumpet, so that I had to beg her to wait. From Masmünster we drove through more villages, where there was everywhere a reception, to Sewen, a big village in the beautiful upland valley. The reception was here brought to confusion by the coachman not driving through the gate of honour, but round outside it. The address was therefore not made in the right place, which made the organising teacher so excited that he pushed everybody hither and thither, and did not see me at all. Finally order was restored, and then a lad in the name of the mayor of the parish read an

return my most heartfelt wishes for the prosperity of the town of Mülhausen.

"Herr Schlumberger in his speech has touched on politics. I think, therefore, it is my duty to say a few words in reply.

"When a nation captures and wins back a country, she desires to hold it. She therefore adopts every measure to assure her possession. These measures are all the harsher the stronger her neighbour's efforts to regain the lost territory. And so, step by step, we have come to compulsory passports, to which Herr Schlumberger has made reference. Passports will be no longer compulsory when they are no longer necessary to assure our possession. Other measures will follow in order, as a well-known paper recently said, to wean Alsace-Lorraine lastingly from France and bind it more closely to us.

"These measures, however, in order to attain this end, ought not to proceed from the sphere of the police, but from that of economic interests. The journey which we are making to-morrow in order to become acquainted with an important enterprise which will be useful to Upper Alsace serves as an example. Other works of this kind will follow. I am thinking of the Ludwigshafen Canal; and I would adduce further instances if I were not afraid of depriving the President of the Third Division of the Ministry of the pleasure of surprising the country with many a useful project in this domain. Those are lasting measures which we have taken, and which we shall set going to prove to the country that it will thrive under German dominion.

"In this spirit let us drink to the welfare of Alsace-Lorraine and to the success of the town of Mülhausen."

address, in which stress was laid on the fact that no Governor had been there since the thirteenth century — to wit, St. Louis of France, whom I now had the honour to follow. From Sewen you soon come to the reservoir. We got out at the foot of the hill and walked up. It is all very interesting, and the mountain landscape beautiful. Unfortunately the weather remained uncertain. From time to time small showers. When the weather had cleared somewhat Schlumberger made a speech, to which Schraut, in the name of the Government, replied. Then there was lunch in an arbour, and at three o'clock we drove back to Masmünster, where a great dinner had been ordered at four. I drank to the Empire, and Mieg-Köchlin to me, to which I returned thanks, saying: "Long live the Provincial Council and all participators in the work." At seven o'clock we left by rail for Mülhausen, where again we had "a glass of beer" at the railway buffet. My fellow-travellers for Mülhausen took their leave here, and we drove to Strassburg, where we arrived at half-past one in the morning.

On the whole I have reason to be pleased with the reception, which everywhere, in all the small towns and villages, was extremely hearty. The Catholic clergy especially evinced great friendliness.

BADEN, *July 15, 1888.*

Came here from Strassburg yesterday noon. In the afternoon visit to the Grand Duke, who expressed his agreement with my Mülhausen speech. In the evening tea with the Empress, who was kindly as ever. To-day at five o'clock dinner with the Empress, with the Grand Ducal family. The Grand Duchess was absent. She is in bed, undergoing treatment for her eyes. In the evening on the promenade I spoke with Maxime Ducamp. He is grieved at the severe measures in Alsace-Lorraine, but knows that I am not to blame. He related all sorts of things — among others that at the time of the elections there had been talk in princely circles of making the Statthaltership hereditary, and appointing me hereditary Statthalter. That causes me to reflect. It is very probable that Bismarck's efforts to injure my position here are to be traced back to the envy which the Bismarck family felt at the fact that I might receive this hereditary post, seeing that Bismarck has not become hereditary Duke of Lauenburg. As a matter of fact, I have till now never understood why Bismarck, as soon as things were going well in Alsace-Lorraine and I had won the approval of the Emperor and the rest of the world, should always put a spoke in my wheel as he did in the case of the actions against the Patriotic Leagues, the insistence on expulsions, and, finally, the compulsory passports. All of these without motive if one does not accept the above explanation as possible. Maxime Ducamp asked me what measures were to follow now. I said I knew of nothing. But it is possible that some new storm is brewing in Berlin.

From a letter to PRINCESS ELISE.

BERLIN, August 3, 1888.

. . . The Emperor William gives me the impression of a wise, conscientious man. When I speak with him I am always reminded of Prince Albert. He resembles him in the voice, and has the same earnest manner, but at the same time delights in amusing things. If he develops like his grandfather we may be content.

Journal.

ST. PETERSBURGH, August 13, 1888.

Left Berlin on the 10th, after having seen the Emperor the day before. My audience was satisfactory. The Emperor received me first with his Court and aides-de-camp, and then we went to lunch. Afterwards the Emperor spoke some considerable time with me on the terrace. He described his stay at Peterhof,* and showed himself very pleased with his reception. He had at first been regarded with distrust, since it had been feared that he would bring to discussion unpleasant things of some kind, withdrawal of troops and the like. But when the Czar had convinced himself that the visit was to be a mere formal visit of politeness he had become daily more friendly and confidential, and the stay had been rendered thereby extremely pleasant. In reference to my own matters, he wished me every good thing, and said to me, "I will support you." Finally he commanded me to reiterate his thanks to the Czar for the friendly reception, and to tell him that he retained the happiest recollection of his stay. We got on quite well. They are nice people. At Wirballen I got a sleeping compartment. On the 11th, at eight o'clock, we were in St. Petersburg. To-day I was with Madame Maltzow in Tsarskoe, who told me all sorts of things about Court, particularly that they were charmed with the Emperor William — less so with the suite, which had been *raide*. When I told her that I had studied with the Empress's father, she considered that a very fortunate circumstance which I might profit by.

ST. PETERSBURGH, August 16, 1888.

Yesterday I drove to the Minister of Finance, Wischnegradsky, who received me extremely kindly. I told him the object of my presence, and desired him to use his interest for our affairs. I hinted that in German financial circles our affairs were followed with a certain interest. He said that he had no influence in the matter, but would place himself at my disposal. As far as the Ukase is concerned, he surmised that I had in prospect an *heureuse combinaison* — namely, by allowing one of my sons to become a Russian. I replied that I could not enter into this

* July 19 to 24, 1888.

scheme, since I must first ascertain whether anything were left of the inheritance. Whereupon he replied that that was not to be doubted, and we should surely obtain a good result.

ST. PETERSBURG, *August 21, 1888.*

Schweinitz invited us to dinner on Saturday with Makower, where we are to meet no one. When we came in Giers was there, who had announced himself for dinner. He said that the Emperor regretted not to be able to receive us yet, but that we should be received on Wednesday or Friday. We then discussed the uniform. He opined that we ought to be in uniform with epaulettes, and have time to change in Peterhof. He was extremely friendly, yet I refrained from discussing business matters, since he has nothing to do with them.

I was also with the deputy of the Minister of the Interior. He recognises that it is not possible to sell in three years, and that an exception would have to be made. But he can do nothing without the Emperor. As I left he asked: "*Donc votre Altesse n'a pas d'ordres à donner au ministère avant d'avoir vu l'Empereur?*"

Monday, dinner at the Countess Kleinmichel's. The Court chamberlain of the Empress, Prince Galitzin, was there. During the meal Countess Kleinmichel spoke of Herbert Bismarck, whom she had often seen when he was here as Secretary of the Embassy. He was "brutal," and sought to make a parade of it. On his arrival he had said to the gentlemen of the staff that they must not be too polite to the Russians. Two Russian generals had heard this.

After dinner I went with Philipp Ernst by steamboat to the Zoological Gardens, where there was theatre and ballet. To-day we have been invited by the Grand Duchess Katharina to dine at Oranienbaum.

ST. PETERSBURG, *August 13-25, 1888.*

As M. de Giers had foreshadowed, we were yesterday (Friday) commanded to their Majesties. We drove in uniform at 10 A.M. to Peterhof, alighted at the palace, whence we were at once driven through the park to the cottage where the Emperor resides. It is a small, quite habitable country house, but unsatisfactory as an Imperial residence. Prince Galitzin, the Empress's Court chamberlain, received us to conduct us to the Empress. But as the Egyptian princes were there the Empress could not receive us at once, and we were first taken to the Emperor. I went in first alone to audience. Philipp Ernst waited in the anteroom. The way led between half-packed boxes to a little staircase, up which I came into the Emperor's dressing-room, and thence into his study. The Czar, a big man in a military overcoat, received me very kindly, and men-

tioned that he had already seen me in Paris; then reverted to my position in Strassburg, and asked me whether this was my first visit to St. Petersburg. I replied that I had been here some thirty years ago,* explained the occasion of that visit, and found therein an introduction to the object of my present visit and to the matter of the succession. The Czar went into the matter, and expressed his regret that the circumstances were so unfavourable. I added that we would spare no pains to put things in order, but we needed time. This the Emperor allowed. He closed the conversation, saying in friendly fashion: "*Nous tâcherons de vous aider dans ces difficultés.*" Thereupon I took my leave, and Philipp Ernst was admitted.

Then we went together to the Empress, who was just as friendly. I mentioned that I had studied in Bonn with her father, which gave her an opportunity for some remarks about her father, about whom she said that he kept his youth remarkably. Then she spoke of her journey to Gmunden, to which she looked forward with pleasure, and so on. I forgot to say that I carried out the commands of the Emperor William in relation to the Czar, whereupon he, as afterwards the Empress, expressed their pleasure at the Imperial visit, and remarked that he had found the Kaiser changed to much advantage.

BERLIN, *January 21, 1889.*

Yesterday was *Ordenfest*. At the dinner I sat opposite the Emperor, next to Moltke. The music was somewhat disturbing, but towards the end of the meal I managed to get a chance of speaking with the Field-Marshal. He talked of all sorts of things, among others about a stag-hunt which he had had in Fontainebleau in 1867 with the Emperor Napoleon. In it he once rode behind the Emperor, who lost his hat. The hat fell on a juniper bush, and remained suspended, so that Moltke was able to get it and return it to the Emperor. "So I was able," said he, "to give the Emperor back his hat. And three years later we took his crown."

When I was with the Kaiser to-day after lunch, and was smoking with him, I endeavoured to speak prudently about Alsace-Lorraine. He listened kindly, and evinced much interest in matters there. But when I spoke about the repressive measures he wrapped himself in silence, and was not to be drawn into the expression of an opinion. I saw that he was entirely under the influence of the Imperial Chancellor, and did not trust himself to express an opinion different from his. So I had to give up the attempt to clear the way for a change of opinion in these quarters.

BERLIN, *January 23, 1889.*

To-day at half-past five with Viktor to dinner with the Empress Augusta. The Empress as well as the Grand Duchess asked

me whether I had spoken with the Emperor about Alsace-Lorraine, and acted on the lines suggested by them. I said to them that I had not considered it opportune to make any definite proposals because I had noticed that the Emperor was entirely under the influence of the Imperial Chancellor, and discussed no decisions that diverged from his. I consoled the Royal ladies about the future. At table the Grand Duchess complained of the difficult time which she on account of the Geffcken * affair had had to live through. Among the guests was also Minister Bötticher, who spoke very sensibly about Alsace-Lorraine, and expressed himself decidedly against petty police vexations. As the Grand Duchess stated, he blamed the publications.† There is really no one whom she does not blame. After dinner I spoke with the Grand Duke and Miquel about the canal. The former again reverted to the project of canalisation of the Rhine, which he considered possible, in accordance with Honsell's report.

At eight o'clock I was again invited to supper with the reigning Majesties. I was introduced into the inner rooms, and left them with the Emperor and Empress. At supper I sat between the Empress and Countess Keller. After supper the Empress retired with the ladies to another *salon*. We remained standing, and there ensued a conversation of an hour's duration between the Emperor, his former teacher, Hinzpeter, and myself. We first discussed the Gymnasium system, concerning which the Emperor expressed himself against the excessive demands on these institutions, while we defended them, making plain to him that only great demands could prevent a rush to them and check a learned proletariat. We then came to the question of the cathedral. The Emperor had plans and drawings fetched, and explained them to us. According to them, the cathedral will be magnificent and correct. I then introduced the alterations in the Linden, in which I was supported by Hinzpeter; then the Imperial palace in Strassburg, and notable things in Alsace-Lorraine, in which country the Emperor evinced great interest. He said it was a beautiful country, and he could understand that the French had been very sorry to lose it. Speaking of France, the Emperor opined that Boulanger would certainly succeed. He already saw the time when Boulanger as Emperor Ernest should pay a state visit to Berlin. Then he would attach Radziwill and Lehndorff to him. In the whole conversation, which never flagged, I was pleased with the fresh, lively manner of the Emperor, and was forcibly reminded of his grandfather, Prince Albert.

* Professor Geffcken, placed under arrest for his publications from the diary of the Emperor Frederick, was on January 4 discharged by decision of the Imperial Court of Justice.

† Article of the *Kölnische Zeitung* of December 16, 1888, against Sir Robert Morier, British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, and the publications of London newspapers in reference thereto about correspondence between Morier and Herbert Bismarck.

BERLIN, *January 25, 1889.*

I was yesterday with Lindau and Holstein. As I was going back the Imperial Chancellor met me, and invited me to go home with him. We talked there for half an hour. He began at once about Geffcken, and asked whether it wouldn't be possible to institute disciplinary measures against him in Strassburg. I replied that it was not possible, as the University was not subject to civil law. He was of opinion that the law did not protect the recalcitrant professor either, which pointed to the fact that we should apply French civil law, by which professors could be *pure* dismissed. I replied that I would discuss the matter with Puttkamer. (But the latter thinks, as he said to me to-day, that then the University might as well be closed, as the professors would not stay if they were placed outside the law.) The Imperial Chancellor then launched out into lengthy references to the Geffcken affair, considered that the matter ought not to be allowed to rest, and mentioned various incidents to prove that the Emperor Frederick was by no means the liberal man that the Progressive party wanted to make him out. This legend was dangerous for the whole dynasty, and must be destroyed. He (Bismarck) has evidently got his teeth into the matter and won't let go. I was forcibly reminded of an article, "Le Mort," in the *Figaro*. He gave me the impression of a man not quite sound mentally. Irritation is increasing in all classes, and Prince Bismarck is harming himself more than the dead Emperor. The Grand Duke of Baden, who paid me a visit to-day, told me that the Emperor wished to prevent the publication of the statement that Geffcken had made the appeal to the Emperor Frederick. But it was already too late. The Grand Duke further opined that it was not unlikely that the Emperor would part with Bismarck if he noticed that all was not told him. For the present the Emperor wants to avoid all unpleasantness, since he needs Prince Bismarck for the passing of the Army Bill.

At the Foreign Office, and in the National Liberal Party, there is a feeling of depression.

Speech at the Presidential dinner of the National Representative Council (Landesausschuss) on February 28, 1889.

Permit me, gentlemen, to reply to the toasts of your President. I thank him most heartily for the friendly words with which he alludes to myself. From his toast to the health of the Emperor I deduce the pleasant certainty that we feel ourselves at one in fidelity to Emperor and Empire, as we are one in solicitude and toil for the welfare of the country. You have, gentlemen of the Representative Council, again undertaken this work with your accustomed loyalty and devotion, and with that practical sense which is the characteristic attribute of the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine. You have the advantage of not being

disturbed by party strivings and of making your decisions on positive grounds. And if I lay stress on this it is because I am of opinion that your deliberations are of greater import than your modesty may assume. As a matter of fact, the whole of Germany forms its judgment on the condition of this country from the deliberations of your Council, and it is important that they should take a normal course, since it removes many a prejudice which may still exist on the other side of the Rhine. The course of your debates hitherto justifies me in hoping that this result will not be wanting. I hope, then, that this country is advancing towards a happy future, and that its inhabitants will recognise more and more that it is an advantage to belong to a nation whose development is on a rising plane, to a nation to which the future belongs. I drink to the representatives of the country and their worthy President.

Speech at the dinner of the Council in honour of its Presidents, March 14, 1889.

GENTLEMEN, — The greeting of the First Vice-President, Baron Zorn von Bulach, places me under an obligation of most sincere thanks which I herewith express to him and to you who concurred in his words. The speech of Baron von Bulach gives me the pleasant assurance that the few words which I recently addressed to the members of this Council have fallen on good ground and have found a friendly echo. But it implies still more; it gives me the assurance that my efforts to remove the difficulties which still hinder the normal development of our country may rely on the loyal co-operation of the majority of the Representative Council. That is much; that is of great import; for in the harmonious concurrence of Government and popular representation lies the earnest of the well-being of a State. And even though differences of opinion now and again appear to intervene and disturb us, we are yet at one in essential matters. So I believe, then, that I may look forward with confidence to the future. And if to-day I raise my glass to the Landesausschuss, so I may say without illusion: "I drink to the welfare of true friends in the Imperial Province. Long live the Landesausschuss and its Presidents!"

The EMPRESS AUGUSTA to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

BERLIN, March 16, 1889.

DEAR PRINCE, — You have given me the privilege of accompanying your difficult but honourable task with my best wishes, and of criticising your public utterances. This permits me to express my warmest approval of your last two speeches, which must really have produced a great impression, and which have rejoiced me in every respect. God's blessing on your work.

Yours,

AUGUSTA.

To the EMPRESS AUGUSTA.

STRASSBURG, *March 18, 1889.*

May your Imperial and Royal Majesty graciously permit me to express my most devoted thanks for the exceedingly gracious notice which your Majesty has taken of the words which I have recently spoken. The more fully I realise the duty laid on me the more rarely am I satisfied with my performances, and only the encouraging words of your Majesty can give me the assurance that I have done rightly. I know, too, that were the contrary true your Majesty would not withhold from me a word of warning.

May your Majesty be assured that I will further strive to show myself worthy of your Majesty's good wishes.

The EMPEROR to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

I have learnt with deep interest that on the 31st of this month you complete your seventieth year. It affords me the pleasure of expressing to you my sincerest good wishes for this anniversary, and at the same time my thankful recognition of the estimable services which you have rendered to Emperor and Empire in your former offices, as well as since autumn, 1885, at the head of the Imperial Province. To this I add the wish that you may long fill your high post with full vigour, bodily and mental.

To PRINCESS ELISE.

DONAUESCHINGEN, *April 16, 1889.*

We have escaped for two days from the restless life in Strassburg to take a rest here at Fürstenberg's — I especially in order to work off my arrears of letters, which I could not succeed in doing there. . . .

I return to what I said to you in Schillingsfürst, that with you belief is synonymous with conviction. With Catholics it is the acceptance of what the Church prescribes. The Catholic believes, as I do when I take a homeopathic medicine. I gulp my aconite, although I am convinced that it is of no use. So the Catholic swallows dogma and does not cudgel his brains about the fact that it is incomprehensible to him. And the Jesuits go so far as to set up more and more stupid doctrines, even considered as such by themselves, because they believe it wholesome for mankind to be in subjection to what is most stupid. To this refers the dictum of St Augustine: "In things doubtful freedom, in things necessary unity, in all charity." The necessary I don't recognise in dogma. According to my conviction, it is not good or necessary to build one's life and salvation on a dogmatic basis. I mean that the ever necessary fight against sin within and without can be waged even without the faith of the sixteenth century. Man

can even without this faith attain to the condition of voluntary abnegation, resignation, and true tranquillity, and conquer the violence of desire wherein lies the germ of all evil by the submission of the will. So is it, then, as the mystics point out. "He in whom the resignation of the will has come to pass, however poor, joyless, and bereaved his external condition may be, is full of inward joy and true heavenly peace." Not the restless rush of life nor the exultant joy, with its previous or subsequent condition of bitter sorrow, such as make up the course of life-loving man to be, but an unshakeable peace, a deep repose, an inward serenity, is the state on which we, when it is brought before our eyes or imagination, cannot look without the greatest longing, while we at once recognise it as the only right one, and the one surpassing all others to which our better spirit calls the great *sapere aude*. We feel then indeed that every fulfilment of our wishes wrung from the world is but like an alms which keeps a beggar alive to-day only to let him starve on the morrow, but that resignation is like inherited property — it keeps the possessor from care for ever.

If, then, in that pure contemplation which frees us from the furious pressure of the will and allows us to emerge from the heavy terrestrial ether lies the true blessedness which man can enjoy, I ask whether in the direction of the longing for a renewing of the earth, for the contemplation of the Son of God, and the resurrection of the body, etc., that you follow, there does not also lie a disturbing restlessness of the will destroying quiet contemplation and resignation. I wish also to overcome the world; and when St. John says, "Our faith is the victory which overcomes the world," it is not the belief in dogma, but the recognition of the nothingness of the world and the destructiveness of sin which the Evangelist implied.

We come, therefore, to the same result. And if you say, "Those who sow in tears shall reap with joy," I answer yes, those who have felt the sorrow of the world and the sinfulness of the will are capable of attaining by resignation to the condition of pure contemplation.

*Toasts proposed at the excursion of the National Council to Metz, May 9, 1889.**

To the Emperor.

GENTLEMEN,—this is the first time since the accession of the Emperor now reigning that I have the honour to propose a toast of homage to the Emperor in this town. I do not do so without a feeling of deep grief, for the circumstances of last year are too near, before us stand too plainly the figures of the two noble monarchs whom I had the honour to serve with loyalty and devotion, and the memory of that day still lives within me

* To view the cathedral works.

when by the side of the late Emperor Frederick it was my duty to enter this gaily decorated town. But grief for the departed, however justified it may be, must not cloud our eyes to the future. Our present Emperor is the worthy follower of exalted forebears, devoted and courageous, a true son of the Hohenzollern race. And of him I may well say with the poet:

How self-possessed and firm and ripe in soul
Thou tread'st the slippery threshold of the throne!
Yea lighter rises now thy head, more free
Even since the golden burden on it fell.

And these are no flattering words. They are a judgment formed on calm observation. And this justifies me in the firm hope that the Empire, under the rule of our Emperor, with God's help, may advance towards a happy future.

To the Town of Metz.

GENTLEMEN, — Allow me in the name of the Strassburg guests to express our heartfelt thanks to the Mayor for his kindly welcome and to the Town Council for its amiable hospitality. And since we are here for an architectural and not for a political object, I may introduce a toast to the town of Metz with a recollection taken from the history of the art of this town. As I have read in a memoir dealing with the history of this town, there was still standing at the beginning of the last century a beautifully carved crucifix and a bridge leading thereto. Cross and bridge were constructed by a pious noble of this town, the Seigneur de Louve, and both bore their founder's name. They were called "*La croix de Louve*" and "*Le pont de Louve*." On this monument the founder had had an inscription made, in which he prayed God to take the town of Metz into his protection, to keep her in union and peace, and to protect her from all her enemies. When Marshal Belleisle in the first half of last century increased the fortifications, bridge and crucifix were destroyed, and the inscription disappeared also. But the pious words still live in the hearts of all true citizens of Metz, and in the hearts of those who wish Metz well. Among these all we who are here to-day count ourselves — we all wish success to the celebrated old town. Therefore we are all at one with the words of that inscription: "*Que Dieu veuille conserver la cité de Metz en bonne paix et concorde et union et la garder de ses adversaires,*" and herewith I lift my glass and invite you to drink to the town of Metz.

To PRINCESS ELISE.

GRABOWO, May 19, 1889.

. . . Your letter rejoiced me by the warmth of feeling which imprints something winning on your entire Christian view of life and makes the condition in which you are appear something

to be envied. But I should like at once to remark that the struggle with the will, according to me, ought not to be the irresolution of apathy. I prize action and the energy of the will, and deny the will only so far as it is identical with the world and has to be fought with it if we are to arrive at true enlightenment, or, as we say, at "union with God." The reef on which all religious-philosophic speculations make shipwreck is the idea of God. I only come to the recognition of all that you lay down when I come to an understanding of the source from which all is derived, and this is a postulate of reason about which I cudgel my brains, as all the philosophers of the world have done.

Journal.

BADEN, *June 24, 1889.*

Yesterday afternoon I arrived here with Alexander and Thaden. We had been invited to dine with the Empress Augusta. At the station a servant was awaiting me; who commanded me to the Grand Duke at three o'clock and to the Empress at half-past four. I drove, therefore, at once to the Castle. The Grand Duke was troubled at the political situation and angered at the intention of Bismarck to close the frontier against the Canton of Aargau.* If they wanted to do that, an Imperial rescript should be issued, and then Baden would acquiesce. He would not act on his own initiative. He particularly blamed the fact that the matter had been carried so far in Berlin. Switzerland had made proposals which might have been accepted — appointment of a public prosecutor for the Confederation, reorganisation of the police, &c. In Berlin they insisted on the withdrawal of Wohlgemuth's expulsion and on an apology. Even Herbert Bismarck said he could no longer understand his father, and many people were beginning to think that he was no longer quite sane. The Grand Duke considers the Swiss affair as very serious from a military point of view. All our war plans are drawn up on the basis of the friendly neutrality of Switzerland. A dispute with Switzerland, which might end by throwing her into the arms of France, would lay bare our left flank. The whole campaign of Bismarck had deeply wounded Switzerland, and aroused great mistrust of Bismarck, which could not now be removed. The Emperor alone could only restore confidence by intervening and stopping the strife. Might that not lead to Bismarck's retirement? That seemed to the Grand Duke very serious, but yet no conclusive ground for following Bismarck in this matter. He would talk to the Emperor in this sense in Sigmaringen. What seemed very serious to the Grand Duke was the opinion expressed by Bismarck whether it would not be better to allow Austria alone to attack Russia, and, indeed, of her

* In consequence of the differences with Switzerland after the arrest of Police Commissioner Wohlgemuth in Rheinfelden on April 21.

own action, so that no *casus fœderis* should be given, and Germany could stand aside. I reminded him that Bismarck has always rejected this policy, but the Grand Duke opined that Bismarck allowed himself now only to be lead by egotistical motives, and would have no more war. For that reason he was making all kinds of advances to the Russians, and was launching all kinds of articles against Austria, and was perplexing men's minds. It is possible that it will soon come to a collision between the Emperor and the Chancellor. That would be a bad business after all.

STRASSBURG, June 25, 1889.

Yesterday the military *attaché* in Paris — Herr von Huene — passed through and paid me a visit. He said that the French army was superior to ours for the moment; that the armament and the powder were very good, and that the infantry was well up to its work. Freycinet* was generally recognised by the army as the best War Minister they had had for a long time. Consequently the French superior officers were eager for war, and reckoned on success. We, on the other hand, required, according to Huene, at least half a year to be ready with our preparations, and that our infantry was not nearly well enough drilled into the new regulations. He had also said this to the Emperor. It was consequently necessary to keep ourselves well in hand. He regretted the conflict with Switzerland, like all military men. The compulsory passports too, were of no use, and only did harm by the exasperation they provoked in the country. I told him to tell that to Waldersee, whom he was now to visit. If Waldersee spoke against the passports Bismarck would give way. He was certain that war was not to be avoided. But he shared my view that we could only wage it with safety if the entire German nation entered on the war with animosity. The civil administration in France was for peace, but when once the Exhibition was over war would break out. The constant nagging on our part exasperated the French against us. Not the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, but wounded national pride was driving the French into war.

July 8.

Yesterday I met Maxime Ducamp in Baden. He asked for a *visa* of the passport of the former police prefect Pietri, to which I consented. Then he told me all sorts of things about the Commune, and reverted to Boulanger, whom he declared to be gaining ground, however much he was despised. Prince Napoleon, whom Maxime Ducamp had recently visited in Prangins, had said to him that Boulanger was *le bœuf* to overthrow the Republic

* Minister of War in the Floquet Ministry, April 3, 1888, also in the Tirard Ministry, February 21, 1889.

et puis après on verra. Maxime Ducamp had replied that if he succeeded he would drive out the pretenders and remain himself.

Prince Napoleon had said, among other things, that France must now cross out Alsace-Lorraine.

STRASSBURG, *August 24, 1889.*

I left Metz yesterday evening after twelve o'clock.* At the station the Grand Duke proposed that I should travel with him, and I accepted. He had many things to tell me. At first he reverted to what has been mentioned before, that Prince Bismarck actually wished, or till recently had wished, to break off the alliance with Austria, to unite with Russia, and leave Austria to her fate. But since he had seen that Russia accepted everything, did nothing, and remained as unfriendly as before, he had again altered his policy, was once more showing himself friendly to Austria, and now looked on the war which he had formerly wished to avoid at any price as unavoidable. These vacillations of the Chancellor had puzzled the Emperor, but had increased his own self-assertion. Besides, the Emperor was beginning to notice that every now and then things were kept from him, and was becoming mistrustful. There had already been a collision between the Emperor and the Chancellor, and the Grand Duke thought that one must be prepared for the eventuality of the Chancellor's dismissal. But what then? The Emperor probably thought himself able to conduct foreign politics; but that was very dangerous.

In reference to the shooting permits, the Grand Duke is of the opinion that the small concession of granting permits to resident Frenchmen might well be made. He at first wanted to telegraph to Friedrichsruh and obtain the view of the Imperial Chancellor. But then Lucanus feared one would say that the Emperor had urged this concession, and that it had been pressed on him. I had to recognise this and let the matter rest, but I gave Lucanus a short memorandum so that he might bring the matter up before the Imperial Chancellor. About our Russian affairs the Emperor was reserved. Waldersee, to whom I declared that we must sell the property, said that we must not hurry. In two years much might happen. It seemed to me as if he meant to hint at a future war with Russia.

STRASSBURG, *October 26, 1889.*

Yesterday I went to Baden, whither I had been invited to lunch with the Empress. I found her better than formerly, her voice clearer and more intelligible. She said many flattering things to

* For the laying of the foundation-stone of the monument of Emperor William I., at which the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Baden were present.

me, and opined that my position in general was "growing." About politics she expressed herself, as ever, very guardedly. She disapproved, however, of the much too frequent journeyings of the Emperor, and considered the visit to Athens (which, as I heard from Princess Betsy, ruined the Greek Court) superfluous.

After the audience I went into the *salon*, and there met Frau Von Knesebeck, the ladies-in-waiting, some guests, and Fürstenstein, with whom I lunched. After luncheon the Empress again had herself wheeled into the *salon*, spoke again for a short time with me, and dismissed me then so that I might arrive in good time for dinner at the Castle. I got up there by seven o'clock, and found all the royal guests with the exception of the Crown Princess of Sweden, who was unwell. After dinner I had a somewhat lengthy conversation with the Grand Duke, who complained of Bismarck. The latter was much incensed with the Grand Duke because he had given the Emperor the opportunity of expressing himself favourably about Switzerland, and on account of other matters. The Grand Duke then said, "The Emperor is a prince up to here," and then he drew a line, not at the neck, as is generally done at this saying, but at the eyes. Herbert was also opposed to him. I observed, "Yes, but he took him to Athens;" whereupon the Grand Duke said, "Yes, since he is there." The Emperor would, so long as he still needed him for the passing of the Military Bill, not quarrel with him. But later he would get rid of him.

BERLIN, *December 12, 1889.*

Yesterday there was a musical evening in the Muschelsaal. At the buffet I congratulated the Emperor on his Frankfurt speech.* That pleased him, and he spoke for a long time with me — first about his extemporaneous speech, then about Frankfurt and its great development under Miquel's guidance, of all the improvements he was making, of the use of water-power for electric undertakings, and the advantage this brought to the small trades, &c. Then he animadverted on the magistracy and Town Councillors of Berlin. He mentioned the Social Democratic elections to the Town Council, and said it would go on in Berlin till the Social Democrats had a majority. Then they would plunder the burgesses. This was a matter of indifference to him. He would have loopholes made in the Palace, and look on at the plundering. And then the citizens would beg him to help them.

He next spoke about the monument to the Emperor. He rejected the mausoleum of Hildebrand. It cost too much. One could not apply more than twelve million marks, and that would cost 120 millions, because of the value of the site. Further, he thought that it was not suitable for the North nor for the

*Of December 12 to Oberbürgermeister Miquel and the town of Frankfurt.

population. "Just imagine the people who would go there! Any little tradesman or peasant would go up the steps and through an opening to stare at the monument!" The Empress Augusta was also for a simple equestrian statue. Then he said: "My father might have been put in such a mausoleum, and surrounded with various things; he was for show. But my grandfather is not suitable for that."

Afterwards we had a pleasant discussion about the Statthalter's uniform *à propos* of Hobe Pacha's uniform. I concluded by saying that I would be most satisfied with my present costume. We also talked about grouse-shooting in the Vosges. I wanted to refuse, but saw that the Emperor laid stress on it, and consented.

FRIEDRICHSRUH, December 14, 1889.

I left Berlin at eight o'clock this morning, and arrived here at one. The Prince met me at the station, and drove with me to the Castle. I thanked him for having allowed me to visit him, since I had wished, before coming to a conclusion, to speak to him about Russian affairs. In the meantime we had arrived, and went to the Princess, and then with her to lunch. Here I disposed of some Alsace-Lorraine questions. Then Count Bernstorff came in and stayed for an hour, after which the Prince took me into his room, and afterwards invited me to go for a drive with him. This took place, and we drove through the forest.

When I mentioned the possibility of a war he said: "I see no probability of our soon having war, and if we should have one it is still very doubtful whether at the end we should be in a position at the making of the peace conditions to oblige Russia to alter the principles of her internal administration." We might have war with Russia and France at the same time, and then have to endeavour, if we had obtained some advantages, to come rapidly to an agreement with Russia. But if it came to pass that we obtained such a victory over Russia as should bring about a reconstitution of the kingdom of Poland, we should still have a possibility of having ourselves recompensed *in integrum* and of making the present forced sales retrospective. But that was all in the far-distant future. I then mentioned the remark of Waldersee that we should not hurry — one could never know what might happen in two years; to which Bismarck replied that Waldersee was a muddle-headed politician on whom no reliance was to be placed. He wanted war because he felt that he would be too old if peace lasted longer. His remark was of no importance. It was particularly stupid to believe that Waldersee could become Imperial Chancellor. Even as Chief of Staff he was unsatisfactory, and Moltke had only preferred him to Caprivi and Häseler because he could do what he wanted with him. That was a bad turn which old Moltke had done the Army. He considers Verdy as a good strategist. Between Verdy and Waldersee there ex-

isted a mutual understanding; Verdy worked, and Waldersee supported him with the Emperor. Then he complained about Verdy that he was no jurist, and made impossible proposals in the Federal Council.

BERLIN, *December 15, 1889.*

Early yesterday Bismarck sent me a despatch from Schweinitz from which it appears that the Russian Government is proceeding very slowly with the completion of its new armament and will not be ready for three years. The extension of railways will be delayed, so that Bismarck concludes that the Russians can begin no war for five years. "As far as we are concerned," said Bismarck, as he came to my breakfast table, "we shall begin no war either with Russia or with France." At any rate, the war would break out with both countries at once, and then it were doubtful whether we should be victorious enough to be able to dictate terms to Russia in our affair. So long as the Emperor lived it would not be otherwise. We should not be forced to begin to fight till the existence of the Austrian monarchy were endangered. Bismarck has advised the Emperor of Austria to keep quiet, even if, as was probable, Russia should seize and fortify the entrance to the Dardanelles. Then England, and perhaps France, would consider their interests injured and threatened, and then Austria would have natural allies.

Bismarck afterwards came to the Alsace-Lorraine passport question, and maintained that compulsory passports had already had good effect. He intended thereby to keep the Parisians far away and to restrict the connection with Paris. My objection that the people of Alsace-Lorraine went to Paris did not convince him. The shooting-permit question I could not make plain to him, in spite of all endeavours. He said, "They are still Frenchmen," and to them he would make no concessions in Alsace-Lorraine. I said that the officials in Alsace-Lorraine were of the opinion that he thought that the people of Alsace-Lorraine must be cuffed. This he smilingly controverted, and repeated that he only wished to see the connection with France severed. I insisted no further, because I saw that it would be of no avail. It interested him when I told him that there were Alsatians who would gladly see the right of voting for the Reichstag withdrawn. That, he opined, might well happen. We should also have to withdraw the franchise from the Social Democrats, because these enemies could not be allowed to join in their deliberations. With the opinion expressed by me that the protestors who openly made protest their electioneering programme should not be tolerated he declared himself agreed, and considered their removal as decided on.

Remarkable to me was the deep aversion which he has for the Emperor Frederick. He declared him an egotistical, cold man, and said he had no heart. Certain incidents which he mentioned were, at all events, strange.

BERLIN, *March 21, 1890.*

I arrived here at half-past seven, and at nine o'clock went to Victor's, where I found the special editions of the papers, in which the communication of the Emperor to Bismarck* and his nomination as Duke of Lauenburg were printed. I learnt here, and later from others also, that a regular breach between the Emperor and Bismarck was the reason for resignation. The way in which Bismarck treated the Emperor, the adverse criticisms to which he gave vent in conversation with diplomatists, and, moreover, the unfriendly way in which their mutual intercourse was carried on, rendered the breach unavoidable. But since the Emperor had already been treating for weeks with Caprivi about his possible nomination as Imperial Chancellor, and since Bismarck had learnt this, things could not continue so any longer. Here opinion is divided. Some consider the Emperor in the right, others Bismarck. The Princess is said also not to have worked for reconciliation, but to have widened the breach, and it is believed that Herbert† too will not remain. It is said, also, that Bismarck latterly often changed his views, and had thereby aroused mistrust in the Emperor. To which were added little things which irritated Bismarck, such as the bestowal of the Order of the Black Eagle on Vötticher, interview of Ministers with the Emperor without the knowledge of the Imperial Chancellor, and the like. To-night there is a dinner, at which I shall see the Emperor.

BERLIN, *March 22, 1890.*

Yesterday afternoon I paid several visits, but have not yet spoken to Bismarck. I shall probably see him to-day. The family, and particularly the Princess, are said to be very much vexed.

At seven o'clock dinner in the White Hall. I sat opposite the Empress, and between Moltke and Kameke. The former would have been very talkative, but was disturbed by the continual music, and was much annoyed thereat. Two military bands were placed opposite one another, and when one stopped the other began to blare. It was scarcely bearable. The Emperor made a speech in honour of the Queen of England and the Prince of Wales,‡ and mentioned his nomination as a British admiral (he was wearing the uniform) and the comradeship in arms in the battle of Waterloo, and expressed the hope that the English fleet, together with the German army, would maintain peace. Moltke then said to me: "Goethe says, '*A political song is a nasty song!*'" He

* The communication of March 20, in which his resignation was accepted.

† Received his dismissal on March 26.

‡ Prince George, son of the Prince of Wales, had been invested as Knight of the Order of the Black Eagle. The Prince of Wales was present.

also expressed the hope that this speech would not appear in the papers.

Caprivi was here just now. He asked me whom he should appoint Minister of Foreign Affairs. I told him I knew of nobody but Hatzfeld. He agreed with me in this, but he, like myself, found an obstacle in Hatzfeld's financial circumstances.

In the course of the conversation he asked me about the compulsory passports. I spoke my mind openly: "No removal of compulsory passports, but sensible treatment and withdrawal of the regulation as to shooting permits." He was convinced, but he thought it would be well to wait a few months, so that it should not be thought that everything was to be changed and subverted. On the whole we got on very well, and I rejoiced that he had been appointed Imperial Chancellor.

BERLIN, *March 24, 1890.*

Yesterday was again a tiring day. Went at eleven o'clock with Amélie* to the Palace, since Victor was unwell and could not go to the commemoration of the Order. The service in the chapel was, as ever, very impressive; Kögel's address very short. At half-past one dinner, at which I sat between Stosch and Kameke. The former told me much about his quarrel with Bismarck, and was as chirpy as a wren that he could now speak openly and that the great man was now no longer to be feared. This comfortable feeling is universal here. Here again it is true that the meek inherit the earth. If only now they will go on prudently in external politics in Bismarck's footsteps!

At the reception the Emperor pressed my hand so that my fingers cracked. He also drank to me at table, whereupon I bowed with so much respect that I almost spilt my champagne. At the reception I asked every one where Huene† was, whom I wanted to see. Then a gentleman in braided uniform whom I did not know entered into the conversation, and obligingly pointed out where Huene stood. I could not help saying that it was not goodwill that had driven me to this display of curiosity, whereupon the braided man looked at me reproachfully and disappeared. I was afterwards received by the Empress Frederick, who did not seem to approve of the fashion in which Bismarck was dismissed. She hinted that I ought to have been his successor. But when I said to her that I was born in the same year as her mother and her father, she admitted that it was somewhat late to undertake such a work. On questions of Socialist policy she shares my views, and said that the Emperor Frederick had always opposed Bismarck's legislation. The Grand Duchess of Baden, to whom I next went, was, as ever, very

* Duchess of Ratibor.

† The deputy of the Centre who at the beginning of March had been appointed Papal Privy Chamberlain.

friendly; complained of her eyes, and that on that account she had recently not recognised Marie, and then wished me joy that I could now have a free hand in Alsace-Lorraine.

At the theatre in the evening *Das vierte Gebot* of Anzengruber was given. A somewhat wild melodrama, with murder and bloodshed, but quite excellently played.

Münster might indeed have been made Minister of Foreign Affairs, but people think him too old and faddy. I plead for Hatzfeld. Radowitz is not mentioned, and in diplomatic circles there is nobody else.

BERLIN, March 26, 1890.

Yesterday I made an early call upon the Grand Duke of Baden, who is excellently informed upon the recent crisis, though he does not know everything. He asserts that the cause of the breach between the Emperor and Bismarck was a question of authority, and that their other differences of opinion concerning social legislation and so forth were merely secondary matters. The main point was the question of the Cabinet Order of the year 1852, which Bismarck wished to impose upon the Ministers without the Emperor's knowledge, thus making it impossible for them to report directly to his Majesty. The Emperor wished this Cabinet Order to be repealed, and to this Bismarck objected. The conversation with Windthorst would not have ended in any breach. Bismarck is said to have got so angry in the course of his discussion with the Emperor that the Emperor afterwards said "it was all he could do to refrain from throwing the ink-pot at my head."

To these differences were added the Emperor's mistrust of the Prince's foreign policy. He suspected Bismarck of attempting to guide the policy of the country upon secret plans of his own, and of acting with the object of abandoning Austria and the Triple Alliance and of securing an understanding with Russia; the Emperor declines to agree to this, and holds fast to the Alliance. Herbert Bismarck, too, is regarded with great mistrust in Vienna, as Münster says, and this was bound to lead to a breach. Whether it is true that the Emperor sent a letter to Queen Victoria without the Chancellor's knowledge, and that the fact became known in Berlin, I cannot discover, but the story is repeated.

BERLIN, March 27, 1890.

I went to see Bismarck to-day about two o'clock and found him very well and vigorous. When I said that this was a very unexpected event to me, he observed, "To me also," for three weeks ago he had had no idea that the affair would end in this way. "Anyhow," he added, "it was only to be expected, for the Emperor now wishes to reign alone." He then mentioned the individual points of difference between himself and the Emperor;

the Workman's Compensation Law, which the Emperor wanted, though it was really nothing more than a Workman's Compulsion Law. This brought him to the question of the Presidency of the Ministry, and he said that it was an impossible state of affairs if any minister were allowed to do business with the Emperor on his own responsibility without consulting the Cabinet Council or the President. He mistrusts Verdy and is very angry with the ministers, and says that they left him in the lurch because they feared the Emperor more than himself. Under these conditions he could not maintain his authority. He also mentioned the Grand Duke of Baden as one of his opponents. When I told him that it was likely that the Emperor would ask him to come back sooner or later, he rejected the idea, and said that he would not live through the past three weeks again for anything. "I shall not see him again here," he concluded, "but if you care to come to Varzin or Friedrichsruh you will be welcome." He also referred to the length of our joint political careers, and advised me to be careful that the Emperor did not worry overmuch about Alsace-Lorraine, and that I had better keep out of his sight, but this is easier said than done.

Holstein and Berchem have proposed Herr von Marschall, now that Alvensleben has declined. It seems that Marschall will accept; in any case, he is a better man than any of the diplomatists abroad, and is well acquainted with the situation here.

STRASSBURG, *March* 31, 1890.

Heuduck was with me to-day, and told me that the Emperor had informed the commanding generals of the reason for Prince Bismarck's retirement. The question of a Cabinet Order and the unmeasured nature of his opposition to the Emperor had made it impossible for him to work any longer with the Prince. The Emperor said it was better that they should part now, when they could do so amicably, than that a serious conflict should arise. He then told the generals that Russia wished to begin a military occupation of Bulgaria, and to assure herself of the neutrality of Germany in the meantime. The Emperor said that he had promised the Emperor of Austria to be a loyal ally, and he would keep his word. The occupation of Bulgaria by the Russians would mean war with Austria, and he could not leave Austria in the lurch. It looks more and more as if the breach between the Emperor and Bismarck had been caused by a difference of opinion concerning the plans of Russia. Bismarck was ready to abandon Austria. The Emperor declines to leave Austria, even at the risk of being involved in war with Russia and France. From this point of view I understand Bismarck's statement when he said that the Emperor was conducting his policy in the manner of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. This is the black cloud upon the horizon.

STRASSBURG, *April 21, 1890.*

To-day I went with Marie to Karlsruhe; we had written to announce our arrival, and were expected to lunch. The Grand Duke met us in the room where we were lodging, to conduct us to the Grand Duchess. A general conversation took place, and reference was made to the Chancellor's retirement, concerning which the Grand Duke expressed his particular satisfaction. He said it had recently become a question whether the Bismarck dynasty or the Hohenzollern dynasty should rule. If the Emperor had given way upon this occasion he would have lost all authority; all parties would have looked simply to Bismarck and have obeyed him. The situation had become intolerable. With regard to the article in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*,* he was highly indignant, and spoke of it as infamous, asserting that the article was not directed against Caprivi, but against the Emperor. I asked the Grand Duke about the nature of his last conversation with Prince Bismarck. He said he had gone in and told the Prince that he had come to say "Good-bye," and to say that he should always preserve a grateful recollection of the time during which they had worked together for the welfare of Germany. The Prince said that the Grand Duke was partly to blame if he now retired, inasmuch as his championship of the Workman's Compensation Law before the Emperor had led to the breach between his Majesty and Bismarck. The Grand Duke objected, and pointed out that the difference of opinion which caused the breach had arisen upon Prussian affairs, and in these he had never interfered. "Bismarck then became rude" — the Duke did not say what expressions he used; the Grand Duke then rose and said that he could not permit this tone, that he wished to part from him in peace, and that he would leave him with the cry, in which the Prince would also join, "Long live the Emperor and the Empire!" The interview then ended.

STRASSBURG, *April 26, 1890.*

On the evening of the 23rd at nine o'clock I went to Hagenau with Thaden and Moritz to await the Emperor. We spent the evening with the Director of the District Court, Clemm; I lay down upon a bed in a spare room about eleven o'clock and slept till half-past twelve. Moritz and Thaden went to the station to change their clothes in the carriage. About one o'clock I went back to the station, where the Emperor arrived punctually. I introduced those in attendance and gave General Hahnke into

* The *Hamburger Nachrichten* published an unfavourable criticism of Caprivi's first speech in the Chamber of Deputies on April 15, but asserted that this article was not written by Prince Bismarck; at the same time it was explained that Prince Bismarck had not severed all connection with the press, as he considered it his duty not to withhold his opinions from the German people. He would also expound his views in the Upper House and in the Reichstag upon occasion.

the care of Baron Charpentier and Lieutenant Cramer, who were to take him to the Balzplatz. I then drove with the Emperor to the shooting-box at Sufflenheim. It was about an hour's drive, and during this time the Emperor related the whole story of his difference with Bismarck without interruption. He said that relations had become strained as early as December. The Emperor then desired that something should be done upon the question of the workmen. The Chancellor objected. The Emperor's view was that if the Government did not take the initiative, the Reichstag — in other words, the Socialists, the Centre, and the Progressives — would take the matter in hand and that the Government would be forced to follow them. The Chancellor desired to bring the Socialist law, including the provisions of expulsion, before the new Reichstag once again, to dissolve the Reichstag if it rejected the law, and to take energetic measures in the event of a revolt. The Emperor objected to this policy, saying that if his grandfather had been forced to deal with rebels after a long and glorious reign, no one would have thought the worse of him. But he was himself in a different position, for he had as yet achieved nothing. He would be reproached with beginning his reign by the slaughter of his subjects. He was ready enough to act, but he wished to be able to act with a clear conscience and first to make an attempt to satisfy the legitimate grievances of the workmen, and at least to do everything that was possible to fulfil their justifiable demands. In a conference with his ministers the Emperor therefore demanded that decrees should be drafted, containing those provisions which the decrees afterwards secured. Bismarck declined to hear of it. The Emperor then brought the matter before the Cabinet Council and eventually secured the proposal of the decrees notwithstanding Bismarck's opposition. Bismarck, however, was secretly working against him, and tried to induce the Swiss to abide by their conference, an attempt which was obviated by the loyal attitude of Roth, the Swiss minister in Berlin. Bismarck was also working against the conference through the diplomatists. This friction had considerably disturbed the relations between Bismarck and the Emperor, and these were further strained by the question of the Cabinet Order of 1852. Bismarck had often advised the Emperor to grant the ministers access to himself and this was done. But when communication between the Emperor and his ministers became more frequent, Bismarck took offence, became jealous, and revived the Cabinet Order of 1852 in order to break communications between the Emperor and the ministers. The Emperor protested and demanded the repeal of the Cabinet Order; Bismarck made a show of consent, but nothing was done in the matter. The Emperor therefore demanded that he should either issue an order of repeal or hand in his resignation. This decision the Emperor communicated to the Prince through Hahnke. The Prince hesitated, but gave in his resignation on March 18. It must be

added that as early as the beginning of February Bismarck had told the Emperor that he should retire. He afterwards explained that he had changed his mind and would stay, at which the Emperor was not pleased but offered no remonstrance until the affair of the Cabinet Order arose. The visit of Windthorst to the Prince became the occasion of disagreeable discussions, but did not produce a crisis. In any case the last three weeks were occupied by unpleasant discussions between the Emperor and the Prince. It was, as the Emperor expressed it, "a stormy time," and the question at issue was, as the Emperor went on to say, whether the Hohenzollern dynasty or the Bismarck dynasty should reign. The Emperor also expressed great indignation at articles in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*. As regarded the foreign policy of the country the Emperor said that Bismarck had gone his own way and had withheld information upon many of his actions. He even said that Bismarck had informed St. Petersburg that the Emperor would pursue an anti-Russian policy. For this statement, however, the Emperor added, he had no evidence.

This conversation between the Emperor and myself took place partly on our way to the shooting-box and partly on the way back. The intervening time was occupied by the sport, which led to no result, as the Emperor waited as long as it was dark under a tree in which there was a cock who would not pair. So he was obliged to waste time in waiting, but he enjoyed himself.

STRASSBURG, June 3, 1890.

On the second the foundation-stone was laid of the new chapel at Schillingsfürst. The guests were invited for one o'clock, and were the District Superintendent, the Judge of the Sessions, the Burgomaster, and the two parish priests. I had arranged with the priest Lehner that I should first say some introductory words, after which he should proceed with the consecration of the foundation-stone. All was beautifully decorated with flags and foliage. When everybody had taken their places I delivered my speech, saying: "I have resolved to build a chapel here, the foundation-stone of which we are to lay to-day, in order to provide a suitable, peaceful and ever accessible resting-place for myself and my family. We have, indeed, in the vault in the Catholic Church a suitable burying-place and one sanctified by its situation. It is, however, not easily accessible, and the wish to visit from time to time and to decorate the graves of those whom we have loved and mourned is deeply rooted in the mind of man. Thus I conceived the idea of choosing this spot for a burial-ground, and in order that the sanctity and protection of the Church may not be wanting, a chapel is to be built, around which the gravestones of the departed will stand beneath the shadow of the trees in sight of

their native countryside. I was also actuated by the desire to relieve the Catholic congregation of a troublesome duty. If the vault in the Church were to be opened now, it would be necessary to move the pews and to take up the pavement. For this reason I hope that the inhabitants of Schillingsfürst will join in respecting and protecting this burial-ground, and recommend it to the care of the congregation. I will now ask the priest to perform the ceremony of consecration." The ceremony was then performed. After the priest had read the prayers and had sprinkled the holy water upon the stone he retired without giving any discourse, much to the dissatisfaction of those present. Dinner was at two o'clock, and in the evening I went to the Wolfsau, where I shot a roe.

BERLIN, *June 18, 1890.*

I have noticed two things during the three days that I have now been here: first, that no one has any time, and that every one is in a greater hurry than they used to be; secondly, that individuals seem to have grown larger. Each separate personality is now conscious of his own value. Formerly the individual was oppressed and restricted by the dominant influence of Prince Bismarck, but now they have all swelled out like sponges placed in water. This has its advantages but also its dangers. There is no unity of will.

Yesterday morning, about eleven o'clock, I called upon Caprivi. I informed him of our arrangement in the matter of the passes, and of the contents of the letter to Münster. He agreed.* About one o'clock I went to Potsdam, where the State lunch was held in honour of the engagement of Princess Victoria.† The betrothed couple held a short reception, the Emperor making the introductions. During lunch I sat between Viktor and Schweinitz; the latter said not a word about our affairs. Afterwards, the Emperor came up to me, asked me how I was, and spoke of the purchase of property in Alsace-Lorraine, concluding the discussion quickly and without showing any particular interest. He thought it would be advisable to encourage others to purchase.

BERLIN, *June 19, 1890.*

From the information I received yesterday at the Foreign Office the arrangement‡ seems in no way unfavourable, and we may be content with the cession of Heligoland. In addition to this, Münster writes that feeling in England is very unfavourable

* On June 11, in answer to a question from the deputy Richter, the Chancellor had spoken in the Reichstag upon the system of compulsory passes, objecting to its abolition but urging its relaxation.

† With Prince Adolf of Schaumburg-Lippe.

‡ The agreement upon the delimitation of the English and German spheres of interest, which was published on June 17 in the *Reichsanzeiger*.

to us, as we have been treading on the corns of the English in our Colonial policy in quite an unusual manner. We are thus exposed to the danger that England might join France and Russia, which would have been very dangerous to us. Münster also writes that Herbert Bismarck has made some rather passionate pronouncements in London concerning "the dismissal of my father."

BERLIN, *August 13, 1890.*

I arrived here on Monday, the 11th. Until this afternoon I heard nothing from the Court, then came an invitation to supper at Bellevue. Before that I had a meal at Caprivi's house with Reuss, Bulow, Münster, Schlözer, Waldersee, and some privy councillors. I gave Caprivi information concerning our Russian affairs.

At eight o'clock I went to Schloss-Bellevue and had supper with the Emperor, the Empress, the Court ladies, the aides-de-camp, and Pückler. After supper I had a long talk with the Emperor. He expressed himself as satisfied with the general political situation. He does not trust the Russians. He dislikes the request that he should disembark in Reval, as German demonstrations are then to be expected. He had done his best to prevent this, and wished to proceed to Narva, but in St. Petersburg they insisted on Reval. There will be no attempt to settle differences. The Emperor's remarks upon Russia to me were extremely sensible. On the whole I consider that he has thought carefully over the political situation and formed a calm judgment. I told him that Europe generally had confidence in him, and to this he agreed.

BERLIN, *November 11, 1890.*

I received no answer to my letters to the Emperor and to Lucanus, and the matter of the Bishop* can no longer be postponed, while I was anxious to know whether I could proceed; I therefore resolved to travel here. I have several candidates, but cannot begin serious negotiations until I am empowered by the Emperor and have seen Caprivi.

I called upon Caprivi to-day at ten o'clock and found him entirely unprejudiced on the affair of the Bishop. He agrees with me upon every point, would like a German bishop, will not hear of Korum, who seems to have friends in the Ministry of Public Worship, and awaits my proposals. He will speak to the Emperor to-day, for he thinks that I could not be received to-day, and will then inform me of the result of his conversation. He will also ask the Emperor about the person whom I propose to send to Rome. At first he was against me, but allowed himself to be persuaded. He will have nothing to do with the present

* The choice of a successor to Bishop Stumpf, who died on August 10.

Ministry of Public Worship. They have not yet been able to finish the Posen case, and it was necessary to prevent their interference in the Strassburg case. Upon the whole I am well satisfied with my conference with Caprivi. He was straightforward and kind as usual.

STRASSBURG, *December 19, 1890.*

After I had received the Emperor's approval I telegraphed to Czapski * to come here and gave him the necessary instructions, whereupon he started for Rome. He is to work in the first place on behalf of Kraus, and failing him on behalf of Fritzen. His reports so far are not very favourable.

Meanwhile the Cathedral Prebendary, Straub, came to me yesterday to discuss an idea which he had previously mooted, to reduce the bishopric of Strassburg to its old limits beyond the Rhine, leaving it in possession of Lower Alsace, adding to it the whole of Baden from the Cos and uniting Friedburg with Upper Alsace. He said that the advantages of this organisation were obvious. I did not, however, gain much approval either from the Grand Duke or from Kraus when I discussed the plan with them. The former said the difficulties were too great, while Kraus said that the personality of the present Archbishop was an invincible obstacle. I mentioned this without referring to Kraus by name. Straub said that the idea was incorrect. The Archbishop might be transferred to Posen, which would throw the see vacant, while Strassburg was vacant at this moment, so that the opportunity was entirely favourable. It was impossible for me to assure him that I found obstacles enough in Rome upon episcopal questions, and that I did not wish to complicate the problem any further. For Straub apparently does not suspect that the Pope is under the influence of the Jesuits. Both laity and clergy are under great illusions on this subject. The Jesuits will never agree to the most efficacious means of separating Alsace-Lorraine from France — namely, the above-mentioned redistribution of the dioceses. Thus at the present moment we should further impair our relations with the curia and cause difficulties with regard to episcopal appointments.

Straub then expressed his anxiety concerning the proposed Catholic meeting. I told him that I should not permit the meeting. When I discussed the question with Puttkamer he was opposed to any prohibition, but was willing to use his influence to induce the clergy to abandon the project.

BERLIN, *January 21, 1891.*

My stay here has this advantage that I am able to get an increasingly clear view of the situation. Holstein invited me to lunch to-day with Hatzfeld and Radolin. After lunch the con-

* Count Czapski was chosen by the Prince as his confidential agent in Rome upon the question of the episcopal appointment.

versation became general. All present were highly indignant with Herbert Bismarck, and all kinds of instances of his want of refinement were related. By degrees the conversation passed to the elder Bismarck, of whom Radolin related many unedifying characteristics. He mentioned that the report of Bismarck's visit to the Empress Frederick at the moment of his fall was correct; but Bismarck had not, as Blowitz asserted, entreated the Empress to intercede for him with the Emperor, but had merely said, when the Empress asked whether she could do anything for him: "I ask only for sympathy." He went on to relate that shortly before the death of the Emperor Frederick, he had conducted Bismarck to him, and that Bismarck had been deeply affected. Afterwards when Bismarck was sitting in his room Radolin went to him and said that it had been very affecting, whereupon Bismarck replied, "I cannot now conduct a policy of sentimentality." When the Empress Frederick, after the Emperor's death, requested Bismarck to visit her, he sent a message to say that he had no time and must go to the Emperor, his master. It was therefore no small satisfaction to her Majesty when Bismarck, after his fall, addressed an urgent request to be allowed to visit her.

Hatzfeld related that during his stay in England in this summer Herbert had been at his house, that they had gone down the stairs together and that Herbert had then asked for his health, to which Hatzfeld replied that he was very well, but had a great deal to do; whereupon Herbert said, "It must be a nice policy that is now being carried on."

BERLIN, *January 25, 1891.*

To-day I was at Marschall's house and he gave me the latest news of Schlözer.* At four o'clock I called upon Miquel,† with whom I discussed the deepening of the canals in Alsace-Lorraine. He objects to the project as before, because communication with France would be facilitated in consequence, but said that he would not hinder us though he could give us no help. He attaches more importance to the Moselle Canal, which would bring Lorraine into communication with the Lower Rhine. As regards the Strassburg-Ludwigshafen Canal, he is in favour of it, but is not conversant with the details, and says that Baden and Bavaria are opposed to it.

January 26.

In the evening took place the baptism of Prince Joachim. At the dinner afterwards I sat between the Countess Waldersee and the Countess Behndorff. The music, however, was so loud that one could not hear oneself speak. Afterwards I had a talk with the Emperor upon Russian affairs and upon the mistake which Bismarck had made in rejecting the Russian loan and

* Respecting the appointment of the Bishop of Strassburg.

† Prussian Financial Minister from June 24, 1890.

making war upon the Russian finances. We also discussed the *Hamburger Nachrichten*. The Emperor said, "This will go on for a year or two longer and then the opposition will cease."

BERLIN, *January 28, 1891.*

Yesterday the birthday celebrations were held; service in the Court Chapel, where Dryander gave a very good sermon; then a reception in the White Hall. At five o'clock dinner at Caprivi's house, where I sat between Shuwalow and the Turkish Ambassador. In the evening a gala performance at the Opera, where I took my leave of the Emperor. To-day, about two o'clock, I went to the Imperial Chancellor. We discussed the necessity of sending Prussian officials for a time to Alsace to fill the posts in the new district courts,* to which he agreed. Then came the question of the deepening of the canals, which is here regarded with mistrust. I said that I could see no danger of closer connection with France in consequence. At any rate they ought to give us the Ludwigshafen Canal.

STRASSBURG, *February 26, 1891.*

Yesterday I received the sad news from Rome of the death of Ernst Ratibor.† The news was quite unexpected in Rauden; there are no further details yet. I was present at the dinner of the Provincial Council in a sad frame of mind, but my speech went off very well and was praised on all sides. To-day, dinner with the Rector of the University. As I had expected the Rector, Professor ten Brink, made a speech. I replied, adding that I could make no better answer than to quote the words of my deceased friend Döllinger, who said in one of his academical speeches: "It is not material interests and passions that sway the world and decide the history of humanity, but great thoughts, and here lies the permanent value of the German High Schools, which will also inspire the confidence that they are equal to their task." I said that the University of Strassburg was especially deserving of this confidence, and I therefore invited those present to drink to the health of the Kaiser Wilhelm University.

STRASSBURG, *March 18, 1891.*

During the Parliamentary *soirée* of yesterday I had much conversation with the members of the Berlin deputation ‡ (with

* The Government had proposed a new regulation of districts and a new distribution, considerably increasing their number to the local board both of which proposals were rejected by the Provincial Council.

† The Prince's nephew, Prince Ernst von Ratibor, born November 10, 1857, died February 25, 1891.

‡ The stringency of the pass regulations was increased by a ministerial order of February 28, in consequence of the events in Paris on the occasion of the Empress Frederick's visit; hence the Provincial Council had drawn up an address to the Emperor on March 4 and had sent a deputation to Berlin to present it. The formal reception took place on March 14.

Schlumberger, Bulach, Petri, Charpentier and Ruland), and heard much of their reception by the Emperor. The deputation was not entirely satisfied with the official answer, but derived hope from their kindly reception at the Imperial dinner and at the houses of Caprivi and Miquel. The splendour of their reception, superfluous in my opinion, greatly dazzled them, and they feel themselves much honoured. Pascal David,* with whom I spoke at the conclusion of the evening, assured me that he had produced this effect through the agency of Fischer!† If this is true, it is evidence of a very regrettable influence exerted by journalists upon Berlin decisions. Bulach told me of a long conversation which he had had with the Secretary of State, von Marschall, who spoke very contemptuously of Alsace-Lorraine, and said that it was a matter of total indifference in Berlin whether the inhabitants were satisfied or not, and that in the event of war Alsace-Lorraine would become the chief battlefield. He said that Marschall and Bötticher were the men who attached least value to the demonstration of the Provincial Council, and that it was they who inspired the articles in the *Kölnische Zeitung* against the Council; Caprivi and Miquel, on the other hand, were well-meaning and impartial men. My opinion is that the generals have been making the Emperor anxious about the feeling in Alsace-Lorraine, and hinting at possible dangers arising in consequence. This makes the Emperor, who would otherwise gladly be popular here, somewhat cautious. Marschall is guided by the same motives, and the increased stringency of the pass regulations is due to him and his satellites. The members of the Provincial Council are under the impression that instructions will soon be sent from Berlin ordering milder treatment. This I do not believe; of the two tendencies predominant in the leading circles in Berlin the military has the upper hand.

STRASSBURG, March 20, 1891.

Pascal David called on me just now to inform me that yesterday four or five gentlemen, Germans from here and Kehl, had come to him to say that it was advisable to hold a great *kommers* (drinking bout) in honour of Bismarck on April 1. They are calculating that I shall attend the *kommers* and make a speech in honour of the sick hermit of the Sachsenwald! They immediately issued an appeal asking Pascal David to publish it, and of course to accompany it with a leading article. Pascal David was in great embarrassment as to what answer he should give, and, after much hesitation, eventually requested them to call again the next day. He then asked me what he should do. I told him to tell them plainly that their idea of holding a festival in honour of Prince Bismarck was excellent, but that they should

* Editor of the *Strassburger Post*.

† Correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* at Berlin,

not forget that at the present moment relations between the Emperor and the Prince were strained: in consequence, their festival might assume an importance very far removed from their real desires. This seemed to come to Pascal David as an inspiration, and he declared himself ready to advise the gentlemen in this sense.

Newspaper article by the PRINCE, reprinted, with a few alterations, from the "Strassburger Post" of March 29, 1891 (No. 88).

The correspondence published by the *Temps* between Herr von Werner (Director of the Academy and President of the Exhibition Commission in Berlin), the Paris painters, and the French Ambassador in Berlin induces us to offer a few remarks. In view of the fact that French artists have exhibited their works in Munich and Stuttgart, there seems no reason why they should not also have exhibited in Berlin. In any case, it would have been better quietly to await such occasion than to flatter the French artists with exaggerated expressions of admiration in the hope of inducing them to contribute. A simple notice sent to the Ambassador of the French Republic, with a request to communicate its contents to his fellow-countrymen, would have been sufficient, and would have been more consonant with the dignity of the German nation than this begging for contributions to the Berlin Exhibition. An almost painful impression is produced by the spectacle of the Director of the Berlin Academy emphasising the importance of French art in his letter to M. Dettaille, and referring to the reception with which French artists will be greeted in the hope of inducing them *de vouloir bien accepter notre invitation*. M. Dettaille then politely refers Herr von Werner to the Ambassador, and reminds him that the Director of Fine Arts in Paris is the proper channel through which overtures to French artists should be made. A similar reply is sent by M. Bouguereau, to whom Herr von Werner had also applied. The latter then addresses the French Ambassador, urging him to form a committee of artists in Paris, which should take the matter in hand. M. Herbette politely replies that it is impossible for his Government to interfere officially, though it would be delighted to see French artists accepting the invitation. Meanwhile the matter becomes the gossip of Paris, contribution to the Berlin Exhibition is stigmatised as treachery, and the artists, M. Dettaille at their head, withdraw in affright.* It might have been expected that these facts would have damped Herr von Werner's enthusiasm for international art, and that he would have replied to the French

* From February 18 to 27 the Empress Friedrich was staying in Paris. On February 24 a popular meeting of Boulangists protested against the presence of the Empress and against the contributions of French artists to the Berlin Exhibition. On February 26, Dettaille published a letter in which he declined to contribute to the Berlin Exhibition.

artists with a dry "If you won't, then don't!" However, instead of this, Herr von Werner telegraphed to the painter, Detaille, an expression of his "*profonde tristesse*," and proceeded to ask in what way the Berlin artists had offended the French! M. Detaille, in his reply, soothes the anxiety of the Royal Director of the Academy on this head, and reminds him that the point at issue is a sense of patriotism worthy of all respect. The correspondence concludes with a letter, in our opinion entirely superfluous, from Herr von Werner to a certain M. Dumaresq, in which he repeats his expressions of sorrow, and announces that the invitation is still open. We should like to know what the newly-founded Allgemeine Deutsche Verein [Universal German Union] has to say to this — an association whose object is to "stimulate the general consciousness of German unity, and to induce every German to recognise his obligations to Pan-Germanic nationalism."

Journal.

BERLIN, May 22, 1891.

The Imperial Chancellor made an appointment with me to-day for two o'clock. Upon my arrival I found him as kind and confidential as ever.

With regard to the system of compulsory passes, Caprivi said that there was formerly some reason for fear, and that, therefore, the regulations were made more stringent; now, however, they can be relaxed. I drew his attention to the difference between the original procedure, which has been resumed, viz., the question whether such regulations were necessary, and the relaxation of them, viz., the consideration as to whether there was any cause for fear, and asked if we could return to the latter point. To this he assented, and when I pointed out that I should be opposed by the military he said that they were not concerned, and that he would order them not to interfere. However, as regards the French officers we should be no less strict than before.

BADEN, July 5, 1891.

When discussing various affairs with the Grand Duke to-day he turned the conversation upon the compulsory passes, and expressed his opinion of this regulation in the bitterest terms. He said that he thought its introduction an entire mistake, and that the recent stringency was unnecessary and harmful, as it would arouse ill-feeling in the Imperial provinces and drive the Alsations into the arms of the French. We were simply making ourselves ridiculous, and lowering the prestige of the Empire abroad. I replied that I quite agreed with him, but that if I made any representations to the Emperor I should be immediately contradicted by my military opponents. The Grand Duke appreciated this fact, but asked me to consider whether it would be advisable for him to write to the Chancellor, stating his objections to the

further maintenance of the regulation, and pointing out that the present would be a favourable moment to induce the Emperor to make a proclamation which would be evidence of his power and strength. I declared myself in full agreement, and requested him to write as he proposed, and this he will do at once.

BADEN, July 5, 1891.

My stay at this watering-place now comes to an end, having lasted a week. Every day I have taken a so-called *wildbad* (a bath in the hot springs) and drunk two glasses of the flat warm water, so that I now return "refreshed to my duty," like the "Harmlose" in the English garden at Munich.

Yesterday I met Maxime Ducamp, who has become very old and deaf, in the Lichtentaler Allée. He began to speak of the journey of the Empress Friedrich, and blamed her especially for her exclusive preference for artists. French artists were proud enough in any case. By visiting twelve the Empress had offended two thousand; and even the order of her visits gave offence to those on whom she called. When Carolus Durand was congratulated upon the visit of the Empress, he said: "*Comment, cette . . .* (an insulting epithet) *a été d'abord chez Bonnat!*" The crowning stupidity was, however, committed by the Director of the École des Beaux Arts, who, when the visit of the Empress was announced, caused the wreath to be removed from the bust of the fallen Renauld at Le Bourget, "*parce que cela pourrait faire une mauvaise impression.*" As the École des Beaux Arts has three thousand pupils, who renew the laurel wreaths at their own expense, great excitement arose, and the pupils sent to Déroulède, who proceeded to make an uproar.

BUDA, September 4, 1891.

On September 1 we travelled in the afternoon from Werki to Wilna in order to take the train to Minsk and Stolbzy, whence one proceeds to Naliboki. At the station we found a polite inspector, formerly marshal of the district of Mohileff. He told me that his former regimental commander and friend, General Chernaieff, had stopped at the station, gone into the town, and would be back directly, and that he would then introduce him. He added that the General was a man of very placable disposition, and no Chauvinist. I took that for granted, and shook hands with Chernaieff when he arrived. I should like to have had a talk with him, but the train was starting, and we were obliged to get in. Chernaieff has the face of an old Tartar or an old convict. At nine o'clock we were in Minsk, and at twelve o'clock in Stolbzy, where we found carriages. Marie took a seat in the *coupé*, and I went with Alexander in an open *calèche*. The night was warm and bright with stars, and the drive exceedingly pleasant. After a journey of six hours we reached

Naliboki early, drank tea and coffee in a little castle, and went on to Buda in about an hour. There we found a new shooting-box, built in the Russian style, very smart and comfortable. Marie and I preferred to put up at the older and smaller house. In the evening we went deer-stalking with no success.

On the 3rd there was a drive in the neighbourhood of Rovzy. After the two first drives, in which Marie shot a stag, we lunched in the shooting-box, and afterwards had two further drives, when Moritz killed an animal. Alexander and myself had no chance.

On the 4th everybody went out early deer-stalking. I preferred to sleep till six o'clock, and then went snipe-shooting with Helmersen. After some wearisome wading in swamp we returned with three water-hens as our bag. The journey through the pine and alder woods was interesting. In the evening another attempt at deer-stalking was made, but no one got a shot.

On the morning of the 5th Alexander went deer-stalking and shot a stag in the dim light, which, however, was not found. About eight o'clock a drive was made without success. In the afternoon another unsuccessful drive was carried out, and then we went to the spot where the stag at which Alexander had shot ought to have been. There a drive was carried out in deep swamp. First a weak stag came towards me, which I allowed to pass, as he was going rapidly and was a considerable distance away. In the meantime the dogs were driving a stag in front of us through the forest. This was a powerful animal, which eventually left the dogs and came towards me through high grass, reeds, and undergrowth. It was a first-class stag. I fired when he was fronting me, whereupon he sank down, but recovered himself and turned away to the right. I sent another bullet after him, and he then crossed the firing line and passed me again. Thinking that he would collapse every moment, I did not fire again, but he went off pursued by the dogs, and was not shot by the huntsmen until late in the night.

September 7.

Yesterday morning, on Sunday, we first examined the stag which the pursuing huntsmen had shot after a long chase. It is not a well-antlered stag, having only ten points, but none the less a fine animal. It seems to be the one at which Alexander shot in the morning. My first bullet, fired when he fronted me, struck the nose and splintered on the teeth, where fragments of the bullet were found. My second shot was fired when he turned, and was not aimed low enough to bring him down.

About nine o'clock we travelled by way of Holendernia to Lubcz, partly by boat and partly by carriage. The last part of the road passes through the wide meadows on the Niemen. Upon crossing the river upon which the castle of Lubcz lies we were received by the ispravnik, as well as by the tenant, Zwirko,

and then passed through the farm to the castle, which was in course of repair, where his wife and her three daughters received us with bouquets, bread, and salt. We examined the castle, drank coffee in a somewhat uncomfortable drawing-room, and then went down to the canal which Helmersen is constructing. It is twelve versts long, and will be finished in the autumn, forming a conjunction between the river which flows near Kletishche and the Niemen. It will cost ten thousand roubles, and will drain three thousand *desjatina* of meadow-land, the so-called Hallina. It will be necessary to construct other subordinate canals, to drain larger areas of swamp. As the people pay four roubles for a *desjatina* of hay, the income of the Naliboki estate will be considerably increased. We then went on to Lubcz, and thence back to Buda by our morning route. Upon arrival we ate a hearty lunch, and again went out deer-stalking. Marie shot at a stag, but probably missed it. I saw a roebuck standing in high undergrowth, but did not fire as he was fronting me, and I did not wish to try a chance shot. The buck went off, and did not reappear.

BERLIN, *September 20, 1891.*

During my stay in Buda I received a telegram from Strassburg informing me that the Chancellor intended during the middle of the month to consider whether and by what means the system of passes could be replaced by some other regulations, probably some system of self-reporting. He asked me to send Köller* with instructions to Berlin. I replied that I would send him and reach Berlin myself at the same time.

Upon my arrival in Berlin on September 14, I had an interview with the Chancellor, who confirmed his announcement and said that he had summoned an officer of the General Staff and Arco.

The conference began last week. Hoseus, Mandel, and the above-mentioned persons, as well as Frantzius, of the Foreign Office, and Köller, were present. The discussion continued for several days, and eventually they agreed upon a draft proposal, arranging that only the following classes should be subject to the pass regulations, as issued on May 22, 1888.

1. Persons employed upon active military service, retired officers, and the pupils of foreign schools with a military organisation.

2. Emigrants.

On Sunday the 19th all was arranged. Caprivi gave us a dinner, at which he told me he would lay the proposal before the Emperor on Monday during a railway journey, but would only bring the question forward if the Emperor were in a good temper. If this should be the case, he would resume the subject a fortnight later in East Prussia, whither the Emperor is going.

*The successor of the Secretary of State, Studt, the present Secretary of State, who was then appointed Supreme President in Münster.

September 21.

Caprivi came this afternoon and gave me, with a delighted countenance, the agreeable news that the Emperor had approved our proposal. I communicated this to Köller, and he telegraphed to Strassburg. Thus this unpleasant business has been settled.

STRASSBURG, November 4, 1891.

A short time ago I had occasion to talk with a Russian personage who knows the Czar of Russia and his Court well, and whose judgment is unprejudiced. He says the Emperor is mistrustful and wanting in self-confidence, while his mind is narrow and uneducated. In addition to this he is very slothful and indolent. The reports of Ministers and other high dignitaries were made with extreme rarity, and if they happened to fall upon one of the numerous Russian holidays, were postponed without hesitation. How the business of the country is performed was a mystery to my informant. He characterised the abandonment of the Berlin visit as a political mistake. I supposed that the Czar had been dissuaded by fear of the Panslavist Press and its hostility to Germany, but my informant assured me that this was not the case. The Emperor did not trouble about the Press; the sole reason for abandonment was that the visit was inconvenient to him. He said that the Press was in a state of complete subservience, and only published what it was ordered to print. The authorities did not wish the Press to take up the question of domestic policy and of the necessary reforms, and therefore allowed it to say what it liked upon the question of nationalism. It was thus the Press that fomented the national hatred of Germany; this hatred had originated at the Berlin Congress. The Russians could not forgive us the fact that we had deprived them of their plunder. England would never have begun war with Russia had she been isolated. In addition to these considerations there was the material loss which Bismarck had inflicted upon the Russian finances, while the cup had been filled to overflowing by the expulsions of Russian workmen. None the less, Russia was not anxious for war, least of all the Czar, who strongly objected to the antics of the French Russophiles.

The chief fear of my somewhat pessimistic informant is a revolution. He considered that if the Czar committed the mistake of convoking a Parliamentary assembly, to which he might be driven by financial necessities, he would be lost. Disaffection was steadily increasing, especially among the educated classes, and every one capable of thinking was an object of suspicion. On that account proposals had been made to close the universities entirely. Of all this the Czar knew very little. On his visit to Finland, when the country had been deprived of its privileges,

he was much surprised to meet with a cool reception. He knew nothing of the attempts to make Finland Russian!

BERLIN, *December 13, 1891.*

Yesterday I was invited in the afternoon to Potsdam to the new palace. Beside myself, the Prince and Princess of Wied were there, with the court ladies and Court Marshal. The Emperor and Empress were very kind. The Emperor talked of his sport in Alsace, and thought it would take some years to bring it into a satisfactory condition. He then expressed his satisfaction at the acquisition of Gensburg, and when I told him that the little castle could provide but narrow quarters he said we might very well contrive to spend a few days there together with two or three gentlemen. Turning to politics, he expressed his dislike with the attitude of the Conservative party, which prevented the formation of a Conservative Monarchical party against the Freethinkers and Democrats. The fact was the more regrettable as, though the Freethinkers occasionally opposed the Social Democrats, they co-operated with them in general. The Emperor was satisfied with the commercial conventions, and seems generally to have great confidence in Caprivi. When we came upon the subject of the intrigues and the discussions that were going on, the Emperor said that he considered that Bismarck was behind all these. He added that he was being pressed from many sides to reconcile himself with Bismarck, and was ready to do so, but it was not for him to take the first step. He seemed to be very well informed upon the condition of Russia, which he regarded as highly serious. He believed that the distress would increase, and the robberies also, and that to relieve the distress the Russian Government required a loan of six hundred million roubles, which it would not get. Then the Czar was too indifferent; instead of making a tour through the famine-stricken provinces, which would make an excellent impression, he refused to adopt the proposals which his Minister had made to this effect. When I asked the Emperor how his relations were at this moment with the Emperor of Russia, he said: "I have none. He passed through here* without visiting me, and I only write ceremonial letters to him now. It was the Queen of Denmark who prevented him from coming to Berlin, and to make sure that he should not come she accompanied him to Livadia on pretence of attending the silver wedding, but in reality to prevent the Czar from visiting Berlin." In the evening I returned to Potsdam, where Chelius played some piano pieces. At supper I sat next to the Emperor. Lehnendorff, Brandenburg, Werder, and other Grand Dukes were present. As I took my leave the Emperor asked me to inform him when he could come to Alsace for the grouse shooting.

* On September 26.

To-day I called upon privy councillor Göring, about twelve o'clock, to ask whether I could see Caprivi. He took me in at once, and I congratulated the Chancellor upon his parliamentary success. I also told him of my conversation with the Emperor, and said that my impression was that the Emperor was very well satisfied with Caprivi's Parliamentary campaign and had great confidence in him. Caprivi was greatly delighted with my assurance. When I told him that Shuvaloff had described him as a *trop honnête homme*, he said that was because Bismarck had concluded a treaty with Russia, under which we guaranteed Russia a free hand in Bulgaria and Constantinople, while Russia undertook to observe a neutral attitude in the Franco-German war. This treaty had lapsed when Caprivi assumed office, and he had not renewed it because its publication would have shattered the Triple Alliance. I fear that Austria will not be grateful to us.

As regards the question of the canals, he told me that he had dropped the political objections to the deepening. We can therefore grant permission if the Provincial Board votes in favour of the deepening. With reference to Bismarck, he said that if he recovered his influence his own position would be impossible, and that, apart from this, Bismarck's return would inspire the Austrians with such misgivings that the Triple Alliance would come to an end.

*Speech of the PRINCE at the dinner in honour of the
Provincial Board on February 24, 1892.*

Gentlemen, if you will allow me a few words in which to bid you heartily welcome, I cannot but recall the day on which I saw you gathered round me under similar circumstances in the past year. I then spoke of the confidence existing between the representatives of the province and the Government, and I expressed a hope that it would be possible in no long time to make a return to normal conditions and to satisfy those desires which the province had manifested in a certain direction.

Shortly afterwards the horizon was overcast by a thunder-cloud, the hopes which my words had aroused seemed falsified, and our friends looked anxiously towards the future.

But these doubts and cares were not of long duration, and it was soon possible to fulfil the desires of the province, thanks to the keen and benevolent interest which the Emperor has invariably displayed towards Alsace, thanks to the calm and dispassionate judgment of the Imperial Chancellor upon the affairs of Alsace-Lorraine, and thanks, finally, to the loyal and high-minded step which was taken by yourselves.

The regulation has thus been removed which, though inevitable during the time that it existed, was none the less a disturbing influence upon the social life of the people, and even more upon

their commerce. This regulation could be removed for the reason that we shall be able to secure our frontiers and maintain our rights without a system of compulsory passes. You, however, gentlemen of the Provincial Board, can now proceed to your labours free from care or misgiving. These labours are by no means light, for important tasks lie before you upon which the ultimate form of the social organism largely depends. These you will consider with your usual conscientiousness, and make your decisions for the welfare of the province. In this conviction I raise my glass and drink to the health of the Provincial Board and its respected Presidents.

Journal.

BERLIN, April 4, 1892.

I arrived in Berlin with Marie yesterday morning at seven o'clock. I immediately wrote to the Adjutant-Major, and shortly afterwards received an invitation to lunch with their Majesties. Marie's note had not reached the Empress, so that I was invited alone. I found the Emperor very well, though somewhat pulled down by influenza. He was very friendly and communicative. After lunch the conversation turned upon the Education Bill, and he complained that the Ministry had paid no attention to the objections which he had made months before. In a certain Privy Council the Emperor had spoken very calmly and entirely to the point, explaining his opinion that no Bill could be carried through which would satisfy the extreme parties. Caprivi and Miquel went so far as to urge that the Bill should be submitted to further discussion. Zedlitz said nothing, but went away, discussed the matter at home with Kleist-Retzoff, Kropatscheck, and Hammerstein, and then sent in his resignation. The Emperor expressed himself in very bitter terms upon the Conservative Press. Eulenburg of Munich had sent in an urgent report upon the bad impression created by the Education Bill. The Emperor further told me that the Jesuits were reported in Rome to have collected seven millions already for the foundation of "free schools." "And yet the Ministers assure me that the Catholics have no money to found free schools!" I referred to the Bishop of Strassburg and his intention of coming to Berlin. The Emperor said: "He is a very good man." *

Wednesday, April 6, 1892.

Yesterday afternoon I called upon Caprivi, and told him that I was glad to see him still in office. He replied that he had only been a hair's breadth from resignation, and that it was difficult to continue in office. With regard to the crisis, he said that this might have been avoided if the Emperor had spoken to him before the Privy Council, for he could then have told him that

* The Bishop, Dr. Fritzen.

every problem raised by the Education Bill was capable of satisfactory settlement. The way had been already prepared for an agreement. He observed that the Emperor was continually talking to all kinds of people, which was an excellent habit in itself, but on these occasions he often contradicted his official announcements, and misunderstandings arose in consequence. In the department of foreign policy all was quiet; the French were as peaceful as they could be. Russia had attempted a Customs treaty through the medium of Shuvaloff, but the illness of Giers had hindered negotiations, and Shuvaloff had returned without accomplishing his purpose. The elections in England would no doubt bring Gladstone back to power, but Rosebery would take the Foreign Office and continue Salisbury's policy. English influence in Constantinople was declining. Relations with Russia were somewhat strained by the unfavourable opinion of our Emperor which was inspired by the *Figaro*. He then spoke of Köller, and asked if I thought him a suitable man as Minister, to which I replied in the affirmative. At the same time there is no immediate idea of calling him to office.

BERLIN, *April* 10, 1892.

General von Alvensleben, formerly commanding officer in Stuttgart, met me to-day in the street. He thought it his duty to express his sorrow at the gloominess of the situation, and said, following the *Reichsbote*, that formerly it had been possible to look to the energy and firmness of the Emperor, but this was impossible now that he had abandoned the Education Bill and the Liberals had been left triumphant. I replied that he had been wrongly informed. I said that from the outset the Emperor had disapproved of the Education Bill, and, though he had given way to his Ministers, had repeatedly spoken against it and warned the Ministers throughout that period. If Caprivi and Zedlitz, in loyalty to their principles, had defended the Education Bill, it had been the duty of the other Ministers to declare definitely against it, but this they had not done, so that it was Miquel and Herrfurth who were to blame. Alvensleben said nothing to this, and soon took his leave. I called upon Marschall in the afternoon, and found that his views coincided with mine. He regretted the proposal of the Bill, on which agreement with the Centre and the Conservatives was impossible, and blamed Caprivi for not leaving Zedlitz to fight the battle alone, saying that chivalry was here out of place.

STRASSBURG, *May* 26, 1892.

Bulach called upon me to-day. Regarding the law of administrative organisation, he said that it had been a mistake to propose so many new district inspectors at once, as this had frightened people. Decided emphasis should also have been laid

upon the abolition of the departmental presidents. The French system of departmental administration must be abandoned once and for all. He admitted that Köchlin and Schlumberger were against him for fear of losing their influence, but there were plenty of people in the country who were quite capable of self-administration, and would be glad to take part in the work. An attempt should be made to propose a modified system of parish organisation; the rest would then follow, and might be eventually secured through the Reichstag. Bulach complained of the spirit of French nationalism in the Alsatian clergy.

BERLIN, *June 22, 1892.*

Yesterday evening to Potsdam with Viktor at six o'clock. The Emperor appeared before dinner with the Queen of Italy, and presented me to her. The Queen remembered that we had already met in Munich. The King followed in a hussar uniform with the Empress. He is of medium height, with a big grey moustache, holds himself very upright, and receives those who are introduced to him with a polite clearing of the throat.

I sat opposite these exalted guests so that I could easily hear the Emperor's speech and the reply of the King of Italy. The Emperor made a very good and tactful speech. The speech was lying before him, and he looked down upon it now and then; the King held his paper in his hand. Both speeches made a good impression. After dinner there was a reception, as usual. The Emperor came up to me in a very affable manner and said: "Well, how are you, Alba?" We then spoke of Urville and of his visit and my journey, and the good reception with which he would meet. In order to bring the conversation to the question of the day I then said: "The only thing is that people there are afraid Bismarck may return." "They can make their minds easy," said the Emperor, with a laugh, "he will not return. I have informed him that I intend to have a statement in writing, and this he will not give."

BERLIN, *June 23, 1892.*

Yesterday I was present at a lunch at Caprivi's house at one o'clock, given in honour of the Italian Minister, Brin. The members of the Federal Council were present, and some officials. Brin is a man of middle age, of comfortable appearance, like a French bank director. I was introduced to him, and had a few words with him, which convinced me that he is not very conversant with the French language, notwithstanding his French name. After breakfast I went into Bötticher's garden, from which I saw the entry of the King of Italy with the Emperor. In the Königgrätzer Strasse the public showed little enthusiasm, but at the Brandenburger Tor they were said to have manifested their sympathy more warmly.

BERLIN, June 24, 1892.

To-day there was general excitement over Bismarck's interview with the correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*. The exchange is disturbed in consequence, as people are inferring war from Bismarck's utterances. Bleichröder informed me that he had been at Friedrichsruh ten days previously, and had advised Bismarck not to go to Vienna. He, however, had replied that his plans were fixed. He was informed by Herbert that the Emperor of Austria would receive him, and was willing in that way to please the family of the daughter-in-law. Hence the fury which he vented in the interview. Bleichröder laments his temper, and fears that the Emperor may now be induced to proceed in some way against Bismarck, which would be a great and, indeed, a dangerous mistake, for Bismarck still had a considerable following in the nation. He said Bismarck had a deep hatred of Caprivi. He actually reproached Caprivi for working against him in the *Reichsglocke*, which Bleichröder declares to be nonsense. Bleichröder asked Bismarck who could take Caprivi's place, whether Eulenburg or Waldersee. He said Bismarck replied that Waldersee could not be Chancellor at this moment, as his appointment would be considered tantamount to war by Russia and France; Eulenburg would be able to take office.

VIENNA, June 27, 1892

There were three questions about which I wished to gather information here:

1. What was the attitude of the real aristocracy, that which is called "society," towards the Bismarck marriage?
2. How is the Emperor Francis Joseph disposed towards our Emperor?
3. Are there any signs that the decline of the Austrian Empire is now entering upon a more rapid phase?

So far as the first question is concerned, the true aristocracy has held aloof. Count Palffy, indeed, belongs to it, but he is considered an eccentric character. That the relations of Countess Andrassy have agreed to it is explained by the consideration which the lady might expect from her relations.

To my question as to how the Emperor stood with our Emperor, I was answered: "Naturally on the most excellent terms." And to my further question, "Is there no ill-feeling towards our Emperor amongst you?" my authority replied: "Not the very slightest."

As for the rest, things look as usual here. No one regards the future with much confidence, but there is no particular cause for anxiety.

STRASSBURG, July 7, 1892.

On Monday, the 4th, I went to Frankfort.

The other day I waited upon the Empress Friedrich in Hom-

burg, and was invited to lunch at one o'clock. The Empress received me at twelve, was very friendly, and soon spoke of the Bismarck affair. She said she was not at all surprised at it. Bismarck was of a combative nature, and would never cease to fight. He could do nothing else. She talked of previous incidents, of Bismarck's groundless distrust of her and of the Empress Augusta, and expressed the opinion that we had only to thank the Emperor's quiet gentleness for any success of Bismarck's. He was a very dangerous opponent, but not a republican. He was too Prussian for that. But the Brandenburg-Prussian noble was determined to rule, though it were with the king.

ALT AUSSEE, *July 31, 1892.*

After I had announced myself, a few days ago, to the Emperor Francis Joseph, in a letter through the adjutant-general Count Paar, I was invited to dinner yesterday at three o'clock. I started at twelve o'clock, arrived at Ischl at 1.30, where a royal carriage met me. After a short visit to Konstantin I went to the "Post," where I changed, and then drove with Konstantin to the Imperial villa. The adjutant conducted me immediately to the Emperor, who received me very kindly. I thanked him for his letter in reply to my petition relative to the building of factories in Alt Aussee,* apologised for interfering in this affair, and pointed out again, by word of mouth, the disadvantage of the project. The Emperor seemed well informed on the subject, called the whole thing a great swindle, and assured me that means would be found to hinder the undertaking. Then the Emperor inquired about the organisation of Alsace-Lorraine, the details of which (district supervision, ministry, local board) I had to explain to him. He asked: "Are they under the Chancellor?" I answered: "No, under the Emperor; I am equal to the Chancellor." Upon which the Emperor answered in astonishment: "Oh, ho!" This brought us to discuss the connection of the Statthalter with the Chancellor, and with Bismarck, of whom the Emperor said: "It is melancholy to think that such a man can sink so low." Of Caprivi he said: "God grant that this man may remain long at his post!" He then inquired about the Emperor's journey to the Imperial provinces, seemed fully acquainted with the manœuvres in Lorraine and Baden, then talked of the Emperor's sea-voyage, which always did him much good, and expressed his interest in our Emperor in a kindly and fatherly manner. After an audience of a quarter of an hour the Emperor dismissed me, and I went down to the *salon*, where I found Konstantin, Paar, the ladies of the Court, and adjutants. Soon afterwards the Emperor appeared with the Archduchess Valerie, and after the presentations we sat down to

* The Prince had applied to the Emperor in the interests of the inhabitants of Alt Aussee in order to overthrow the concession for the building of factories, by which the picturesque charm of the district would be destroyed.

dinner. I sat on the right by the Archduchess, Konstantin on the left, the Emperor opposite us, between two ladies-in-waiting. After dinner we went on to the terrace in the garden, where we smoked. Here the Emperor spoke to me of our Russian affair.

About four o'clock the company withdrew. I changed my clothes, and stayed at the "Post" with Konstantin till my departure. Konstantin accompanied me as far as Hallstadt, and I reached home at 8.30.

WERK, August 17, 1892.

We reached Berlin on Saturday the 13th. Early on Sunday I went to Caprivi, who received me with his accustomed friendliness. We soon came to speak of Bismarck, and Caprivi said he was proud to have drawn the attacks of the ex-Chancellor from the Emperor to himself by the publication of the well-known decrees.*

On Monday, 15th, I went to the Marble Palace, and waited a long time with Eulenburg and the Court ladies. Then the Empress arrived, and a little later the Emperor. He seemed cheerful and lively. During the meal the Emperor asked about the harvest in Alsace-Lorraine, and was very glad to hear the good news which I could give him. He mentioned our favourable financial position, and said: "Really, the balance ought always to be placed at the Emperor's disposal." Then he turned to Admiral von der Goltz and said: "The Alsatians could easily build us a ship." I said I was rather disposed to finish the castle in Saverne. After dinner on the terrace the talk turned on Bismarck. In the course of a long conversation the Emperor said: "If people think that I am going to deal with Bismarck by sending him to Spandau or anything of the kind they are mistaken. I do not intend to make Bismarck a martyr, to whom the people would make pilgrimages." The Emperor went on to say that he had recently spoken to Herrfurth, and had said to him: "You have attended all the sittings of the Ministry. Have I during the whole time done anything which could wound Bismarck, and give him occasion to take up arms against me?" Thereupon Herrfurth replied that all the Ministers had been surprised at the patience and forbearance with which the Emperor had borne Bismarck's insolence. I said that I was sure the Emperor would be well received in Diedenhof. Therefore, should the manœuvres happen to touch Diedenhof, they might tell me of it, that we could make the necessary preparations.

It must be added that the Emperor referred to Bismarck's

* In the *Reichsanzeiger* of July 7 was published a decree of May 23, issued to all the embassies, respecting Bismarck's Press campaign, together with a decree of June 9 to the Vienna Embassy respecting the attitude to be adopted on the occasion of Bismarck's visit to Vienna.

assertion that he was on excellent terms with the Czar of Russia, and said with a laugh: "The Czar has told me that he has full confidence in Caprivi, but whenever Bismarck had said anything to him he always had the conviction '*qu'il me tricherait.*'"

BERLIN, *September 5, 1892.*

Early yesterday I arrived here after a comfortable night journey from Edytkuhnen. About 11.30 I went to Caprivi and thanked him for his telegram. He told me that the question of suspending the manœuvres was not yet decided. The cholera was spreading gradually from Hamburg over the rest of Germany, and already a man travelling from Hamburg to Coblenz had died of cholera, and after him the Sisters of Mercy and nurses who had tended him. Moreover, an epidemic of enteric-typhus was reported in Luneville, and it seemed to him dangerous to hold the manœuvres. However, it is hard to persuade the Emperor to abandon them.

I told him of the request of the French actors to perform tragedies in Strassburg. He advised against it because it would be unfavourably noticed by the German Press as an undue promotion of French influence in Alsace. This advice confirmed my opinion.

AUSSEE, *October 7, 1892.*

At the invitation of Count Erwein Schlick, we went, Marie and I, on October 1 by train through Selztal to St. Michael, and from here through Rottenmann, Judenburg, and so on to Friesach. Both the Murthal, in which Judenburg is situated, and the Metnitztal, to which we came before Friesach, are broad green valleys, hemmed in by wooded hills, after the manner of all the valleys of the Styrian, Salzburg, and Carinthian Alps. They are fruitful, but comparatively thinly populated, and they give a melancholy impression. The view of Friesach, seen by bright moonlight, with its high walls and the surrounding castle ruins, is surprising. The interior of the town gives an impression of decay. Herr Bauer's hotel is, like all the hotels in Friesach, an old, gloomy building. The rooms are arranged without much method, separated by small rooms and passages. The inn-folk were very obliging, the food fair, and the beds good. As we wanted to see Friesach we stayed till 10 A.M., and as it was Sunday we went into the Dominican church, a brand-new cathedral in strict Gothic style. The architectural points of interest mentioned in Baedeker have disappeared and have been transferred to the Dominican monastery. The church was built by the Dominican order. Count Schlick had sent word that he expected us to dinner at one o'clock, so we started at ten o'clock with two small phaetons and a conveyance for the luggage. The way leads at first through the Metnitztal, then turns to the left into a narrow valley and becomes steeper. At one o'clock we were in Oberhof. We stopped a moment at Herr Schuster's inn, which lies under

the castle. He received us at a triumphal arch with refreshment, and expressed his joy at our arrival from Alsace. When we came nearer to the castle we saw Count Erwein hastening to meet us. He welcomed us, and informed us that we were not to stay here, but were to go four hours further into the mountains. He himself set out to the shooting-box he occupied. We took our meal and went on about three o'clock.

Here every shooting guest lives separately. The shooting-box in the Felserniktal was allotted to us. The way up is steep and in parts dangerous, especially at one point, where a landslip had occurred, which was then being cleared. In consequence the path was difficult and steep, with the possibility of falling down a deep precipice — which, indeed, had happened quite recently to several inhabitants, but without any injury to them. Towards evening we reached the Flatnitz Inn, and were now not far from our goal. From here we were accompanied by Hofer and Franz, the keepers allotted to us. It now rapidly became dark, and the way led through the wood. Fortunately the keepers had lanterns, and went in front of the carriage. In spite of this the conveyance with the servants, in which another stout cook and a kitchenmaid had taken their places in Flatnitz, turned over, in sight of the shooting-box, and the occupants were thrown out upon the grass. No one was hurt, though the kitchenmaid, who had fallen on her face in the grass, thought she had nearly broken a tooth. We took possession of our comfortable rooms, and arranged with the keepers to start at five o'clock. Count Franz Schlick came in the evening to welcome us and see us comfortably settled. The house is two-storied; above, a well-furnished *salon* and a bedroom; below, kitchens and rooms for the keepers.

On Monday morning we started at five o'clock, first riding and then upon foot. I saw stags and other animals in great numbers, and then stalked further towards a point, where we settled ourselves. One stag, which showed itself, but stood in a bad position, was missed. On the way home I had another shot at a stag, which did not fall, though it seemed to be hit. Home about 10.30. In the afternoon we made another stalk, but without success, and the programme was repeated on Tuesday morning and afternoon with similar results. Marie shot at one stag, and apparently hit another, but this also could not be found. On the last morning another stalk was attempted. I saw nothing, but Marie shot a strong ten-pointer. We heard the shot and hurried up, where we found her and the keepers already with the dead stag. So the last day, at any rate, brought success. At nine o'clock we were at home, packed our things, took leave of our host and his brother in Flatnitz, and went down to Oberhof, where we stopped an hour with Herr Schuster, and then went on to Friesach. There we had time to eat, and went by the 7.40 train to St. Michael, where we spent the night. In the afternoon of Thursday, 6th, we returned to Aussee.

To PRINCESS ELISE at Salm-Horstmar.

STRASSBURG, October 17, 1892.

. . . The words which you wrote to me are very comforting: "The things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." I noted something similar many years ago, in Thomas à Kempis: "*Stude cor tuum ab amore visibilium abstrahere et ad invisibilia te transferre.*" The older we become, and the more we are led by the nature of things to loose our hold on life, the deeper we find this truth. The soul must have room to spread her wings for the eternal flight. In a chamber filled with all kinds of wares she cannot rise, but dashes her wings against the walls. . . .

Journal.

BERLIN, November 7, 1892.

Yesterday evening at 6.30 I left Strasburg with Diringshofen.* At ten o'clock we were in Frankfort. Here I found Reischach,† who was also going to Berlin. He took a seat by me, and told me what news he had. He is one of those who see everything in the gloomiest colours. He considers it necessary that the Emperor and Bismarck should be reconciled. As if that were possible! He wishes for the renewal of the holy alliance between Germany, Russia, and Austria, and here I agree with him; only it is difficult to achieve. At ten o'clock this morning we were in Berlin.

In the Foreign Office I was told that the Czar of Russia wants Werder as ambassador in St. Petersburg. Schweinitz knew that, but recommended Alvensleben, because he did not wish that his successor should have a better position at Court than he had. Then I went to Shuvaloff, to whom I spoke of it, and whom I wished to persuade to ask leave in St. Petersburg to speak for Werner. But he had scruples, since Caprivi had already designated Alvensleben as successor to Schweinitz. On this subject we had a further discussion in the Foreign Office, and agreed that I should speak again with Marschall in the morning.

At four o'clock I called upon Caprivi. The conversation soon turned upon the military proposal, which he considered absolutely necessary. He said he was having great difficulty with the Emperor, who had several times declared against the two-year system of service. Now, however, he had agreed, and would abide by the arrangement. The Emperor's doubtful attitude had also induced a number of generals to declare against the proposal in order to gain the Emperor's favour and to overthrow Caprivi. He is aware of this, and complains that Miquel is not

* Major von Diringshofen, attached to the Statthalter after the departure of Major von Thaden.

† Freiherr Hugo von Reischach, Court Marshal of the Empress Friedrich, married Margaret, the youngest daughter of the Duke of Ratibor.

reliable. Upon the question of the tobacco duty he did not go into details, but confined himself to the assertion that the interests of those concerned in South Germany would be respected. He laughed at the rumour of my retirement. He asked for news of Köller, was aware of the differences between Puttkamer and Köller, and was delighted when I told him that the matter would eventually settle itself.

BERLIN, *November 10, 1892.*

Yesterday I remained at home on account of a cold, but a number of visitors called, who informed me of the reports and apprehensions in circulation. One visitor said that the military proposal * would be accepted, as the Centre did not desire the fall of Caprivi. Others say: "No, Caprivi will not secure a majority, and will resign; Waldersee will take his place." Others mention Albedyll as the future Chancellor. To-day I received an invitation to lunch at Potsdam. I went to the Wildpark station, where a carriage was waiting for me. The Emperor arrived rather late, and looked somewhat worn, but was in good spirits. We sat down immediately, and afterwards he had a long conversation with me. When the conversation turned upon Bismarck he said: "Only compare what Bismarck is doing with that for which poor Arnim had to suffer!" He says he will take no steps against Bismarck, but the results of all this are very serious. Waldersee and Bismarck cannot really bear the sight of one another, but had united, he said, by reason of their common hatred of Caprivi, whom Bismarck wished to overthrow. What the result would be was a matter of indifference to them.

To the IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR.

RAUDEN, *January 8, 1893.*

I venture respectfully to inform your Excellency that on my way to Rauden, whither I have been to visit my brother, who is seriously ill, I spent a day in Vienna, and called upon the Papal nuncio, Monsignore Galimberti. I introduced myself by recommending to his notice the interests of the Catholic Church in the Empire, and requesting him to promise me his support in Rome in the event of future necessity. He promised to do his best to meet my wishes at any time. A conversation of some length ensued, in which he said that his objects in Rome were the overthrow of French influence and reconciliation with Italy. Upon the first point he observed that the French bishops and the French party in Rome had used the age and weakness of the Pope to force him into the dangerous path of making overtures to the French Republic. Galimberti, on the other hand, regards salvation to lie in a reconciliation with Italy, and in confidence in the Triple

* Introduced on November 23.

Alliance. He is not quite clear upon the means by which a reconciliation is to be secured. He says that the wish of the Ultramontane party to restore Rome to the Pope is now impossible of fulfilment, since Italy is identified with Rome. Meanwhile he thinks some solution will be found. He said that most of the Italian bishops and the whole of the Italian clergy were strong Italian nationalists, and he therefore hoped to find numerous friends. It seems to me that he is definitely calculating that he may be able to take the place of Rampolla and then to realise his plans, although he is under no illusion as to the power of his opponent. In any case, the German Empire has in him a devoted friend.

Journal.

KARLSRUHE, *January 13, 1893.*

On Thursday the 5th I left Strassburg by the Orient Express, which leaves at half-past four. I arrived in Vienna at nine o'clock; Konstantin was awaiting me in the hotel. We discussed Viktor's illness for a time, and then I went to bed. The next day, the 6th, I stayed in Vienna, and called upon the nuncio.

The next morning, Sunday, the 7th, I went to Rauden with Max Ratibor. We arrived at Hammer about eight, where we found a close carriage, which was very welcome on account of the extreme cold. On my arrival I visited Viktor, whom I found somewhat pulled down, but not greatly altered. He had sent for the priest in the afternoon, and had received the Sacrament, as he had wished, but it seemed to have somewhat affected him. In the afternoon I spoke to Nothnagel, who had come out from Vienna, and who gave me a very unfavourable diagnosis. The two days which I spent in Rauden passed as usual. Viktor shared our conversation, looked better, and my presence seemed to do him good. I went away on Tuesday morning with a heavy heart, and returned to Vienna with Max, where I was obliged to stay for one day, as otherwise I should not have caught the Orient Express. Konstantin and Chariclée were awaiting us at the station. I stayed on during the evening with Konstantin. The following afternoon, while I was with the Princess Ypsilanti, Konstantin came and informed me that Gustav had arrived. It was too late, however, to visit him, and I went away at five o'clock. I had previously been surprised by a telegram to the effect that the Emperor had arrived at Strassburg.

In Munich I was awakened by the arrival of a telegram instructing me to alight at Karlsruhe to meet the Emperor there. At eight o'clock I arrived at Karlsruhe, was met by Andlaw at the station, and drove to the Castle. The Emperor came at ten o'clock. He was received by the Grand Duchess (the Grand Duke had driven to meet the Emperor at the station) and by all the princes and princesses. The Emperor greeted me very affably, expressed his satisfaction with the hearty reception and the good dinner (he men-

tioned the *truffes en serviette*), and bade me go to him at twelve o'clock. We discussed the general situation, and the Emperor showed particular annoyance with the Conservatives and Anti-Semites. Lunch was at one o'clock. Eulenburg,* the Ambassador, came to see me in the afternoon. *Théâtre paré* commenced at six o'clock. I took my leave of the Emperor in the *foyer*, where supper was served after the second act. At eleven o'clock Eulenburg came to me again to tell me of his affairs. He said that Holstein and Kiderlen were of the opinion that he (Eulenburg) ought to become Secretary of State, if Bötticher went away or received another post; while in that case Marschall would take over the business of the Home Office, which would be more suited to him than the Foreign Office. Eulenburg did not feel that he was adapted to this position, as he possessed too little ambition, and not enough enjoyment of the exigencies of the Foreign Office. Furthermore, he was afraid that his relations with the Emperor, through his constant personal intercourse and audiences, might be disturbed; and yet it was just this friendly relationship which was very important and necessary to the Emperor, who was aware that he would never ask anything of him, and give him only honest advice. In this position of mediation he could be of greater utility than by acting as head of the Foreign Office. He was too young for that. The appointment of Marschall of Baden had already excited much dissatisfaction in official circles. If a new Secretary of State were to be chosen, he must be an elderly, distinguished diplomat — perhaps an ambassador. But he had no idea where this ambassador was to be found. He begged me to speak cautiously to Holstein about Marschall's succession, and to dissuade him from proposing him. I said that I would try, but did not believe that Holstein would let himself be dissuaded.

Early this morning, January 13, I left Karlsruhe, after paying a farewell visit to the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess. At 12.15 I was back in Strassburg.

BERLIN, February 20, 1893.

This morning, after my arrival, Viktor came. It was the first time I had seen him since the death of his father.† Then I went to Margaret. A sad meeting. Then to the Foreign Office. Holstein was not yet there, so I went to the Imperial Chancellor, with whom I discussed the question of the branch railway from Oberhofen to Bischweiler. We then came to the transactions of the Reichstag. He said that at present the outcome was doubtful. The Conservatives would certainly vote for it. What the National Liberals offered was not enough: 40,000 men was too little; 50,000 were needed. The attitude of the Centre

* Count Philipp Eulenburg, then Prussian Ambassador in Munich.

† The Prince's brother had died on January 30, 1893.

was uncertain; the Democratic element in it was gaining the upper hand. If the proceedings broke down they must dissolve. The Government should resort to all legitimate measures for maintaining the defensive power of the Empire. There was no question of a *coup d'état*. The Emperor believed that the Centre was, in great measure, secure. He (the Imperial Chancellor) doubted it.

Respecting the votes in the Federal Council for Alsace-Lorraine, he said he would consider the question, and I might send Puttkamer to report to him on the matter. But not yet — not till the Reichstag transactions were at an end.

At one o'clock I went to *déjeuner* with the Emperor. His Majesty spoke very feelingly about Viktor, acknowledged his industry and loyalty, and said: "We miss him very much, for everywhere, wherever any one was wanted to promote some general interest, the Duke of Ratibor was called for." I thanked the Emperor for these words, and also for his journey to Rauden, and said that had I known in time that he was coming I should have gone myself to Rauden in spite of Husten.

The 23rd.

To-day I was with the Minister Eulenburg, who expounded to me his views on the situation. He still hopes for an understanding with the Reichstag, and thinks that the Centre will nevertheless in part decide on adopting the military proposals. The Government, he said, could not let the proposals drop if only on account of the impression it would make on Russia and France.

Address to the Provincial Council, March 7, 1893.

Gentlemen, I have invited you later than usual this year to our friendly meeting. The reason is known to you. Owing to this delay, I was not able at the beginning of your session to express to you personally my wishes for the prosperous development of your affairs, and I must now, at this late hour, confine myself to briefly congratulating you on the rapid progress of your business.

If this business has been got through more quickly than usual, one reason for this is that we have brought before you comparatively few proposals from the legislative department. This will not have distressed you, for I know that you have no longing for new laws. I can understand this, and am not going to complain of it. I may say, indeed, that it is rather encouraging than otherwise to see a country in which the majority clings to traditional ways and is happy in them, a country which is of opinion that the sense of law is of more value than the written law, and which is free from the failing of crying out for legal help at every little physical or moral discomfort or annoyance. At the same

time I do not mean to say that I did not regret that the measures of organisation which were proposed in the past year were not carried out. Meanwhile I am reassured in this respect by the thought that in this country also the feeling in favour of self-administration is gaining more and more ground. We shall have, however, to proceed slowly and step by step. And we shall therefore do well to content ourselves for the present with a reform of the parish system, and I am resolved before the next session to have a new scheme of regulations worked out, which will of course differ in many points from the plan of last year.

I have learnt with special satisfaction that the proposals for taxation of industries have met with all-round approval from the committee.

Altogether I place great confidence in the calm, practical good sense of the Provincial Council. The experience of the years in which I have had the honour of being at the head of this country has shown me that the Provincial Council is always ready to work hand in hand with the Government, in spite of passing misunderstandings, for the furtherance of the welfare of the country.

In this conviction I lift my glass and drink to the welfare of Alsace-Lorraine, to its representatives in the Provincial Council, and, gentlemen, to your worthy President.

Journal.

STRASSEBURG, April 30, 1893.

Count de Leusse, who from time to time pays a visit to his property in Reichshofen, came to see me to-day. I profited by the opportunity to question him about the hopes of the French Royalists. He told me that all hope of the restoration of the Monarchy must be renounced. The Republic was so firmly rooted that it could no longer be dislodged. Even the noble families were beginning to attach themselves to the existing form of government, and a large portion of the younger members of the nobility were going over to the Republic. His own sons had become Republicans. Part of the legitimist nobility still held fast to its traditions, but these kept aloof from public life and were silent. These gentlemen had sent Charrette to Rome to convert the Pope from his Republican sympathies. The mission had been without result, "*et Charrette est revenu bredouille.*" The Panama scandal had only injured individuals, not the Republic as such. All the deputies who had accepted bribes, or who were under suspicion of having been paid, would not be re-elected, but it would only be a case of electing other Republicans in their stead. The Pope and the Emperor of Russia had an unconquerable aversion to the Comte de Paris, and this had been aggravated by the idiotic behaviour of the young Duke. The sole chance still left to the Monarchy was that possibly Russia, on a favourable opportunity, might play off the young Bonaparte, who was serving

in Russia. A Bonaparte who was at the same time a Russian general might possibly at a critical moment have the mass of the French population on his side. Whether in Russia such a contingency was contemplated he did not know.

BERLIN, May 19, 1893.

To-day at three o'clock I went to see Caprivi, with whom I discussed the project of suspending the election. He had great scruples of a political nature; so too had his Cabinet Councillor Göring. He begged me to send Puttkamer to him to-morrow, who is then to take counsel on the question with the Imperial law officers.

May 21.

Yesterday's *soirée* in Potsdam was far from satisfactory. The Emperor received me in a very friendly manner, and talked about artistic matters. He said nothing about my proposal. After dinner he disappeared, and did not come back till towards ten o'clock. On taking leave I asked him if he had read my report, and he said: "I shall consult with the Imperial Chancellor on the matter."

GOtha, May 26, 1893.

The *Schrippenfest* which took place on Monday after Whitsunday was very interesting. The open-air service was held in the garden near the new palace under the trees. After it was over the Emperor came up to me and talked to me for a long time, which was very gratifying to me, as a large number of "grandees" were there to see. After the march past of the recruits the Emperor called me to him to show me the Princes. Thus the fullest sunshine of favour beamed upon me.

The authorities will have nothing to do with my proposal. Lucanus spoke very disapprovingly. Caprivi fears that a little stratagem of this sort would make a bad impression on the Centre and the Liberals, and thus spoil the election, whilst reasonable, sober-minded persons are of opinion that it would make the best possible impression.

BERLIN, July 8, 1893.

Here since July 3. Luncheon at Court. Before that I was at the Reichstag, where, as also yesterday, I heard the debates on the military proposals going on. Yesterday I was with Miquel, whom the Conservatives want as Imperial Chancellor. Miquel is always full of new ideas. Now he wants to suspend the Franckenstein clause for five years, and to fix the term of registration for five years, and the assignment likewise. The residues remain to the Empire. If less comes out of it than was predetermined, an Imperial tax must come to the rescue.

Bötticher, who sought me out at the Reichstag, told me that the Social Democrats mean to bring forward Feichter's case.* The question will be put on Monday. I agreed with Bötticher that it would be better for the Imperial Government not to ignore the fact that this was a matter for the Provincial Government to deal with, and to go into the case at once and make known Feichter's explanation. He was of opinion that it would be judicious to summon Köller for Monday. I accordingly telegraphed to Puttkamer. Meanwhile Bötticher notified me that the interpellation would not take place till Thursday, and that he had informed Puttkamer to this effect.

July 9.

To-day Miquel came to me. He regretted that the Emperor would not be reconciled with Bismarck, and said Caprivi should advise the Emperor to make it up. Then all the world would be satisfied. With regard to the result of the debate on the military proposals, he is not easy in his mind. The Anti-Semites, on whose consent the question depends, made impossible conditions. He also informed me that at the beginning of August he is going to hold a conference with the South German Ministers of Finance at Frankfurt, and that Schraut is also coming to it.

METZ, September 3, 1893.

This morning I went to the Devant-les-Ponts railway station to meet first the Princes and then the Emperor, who came with the Crown Prince of Italy. The Emperor was very friendly, and presented me to the Crown Prince. Whilst he was making his bows to the company collected to do him honour I drove on in advance to the place where the welcome from the town was to take place. I got down and placed myself with Hammerstein near the Municipal Council. The Emperor soon followed on horseback, with his suite. The burgomaster, Halm, made a fine, though somewhat lengthy, speech, to which the Emperor answered, giving Halm the chain which Hammerstein handed to him on his horse. Everything went off very smoothly. I then drove to the esplanade for the march past of the troops, which lasted an hour, and then home. At three o'clock back again to the station to go with the Emperor to Urville. The Emperor took me with him in his carriage, where we were alone together. I gave him an account of the Feichter affair, at the same time adding that I should have to propose putting Feichter on half-pay. The Emperor thought that would be a great pity, for Feichter was a capital man and a

*The Chief of Police, Feichter, had on June 29 received a deputation of Catholics, who had come to protest against the Government's action in dissolving the Catholic Fedeltà-Verein, and he was charged with having on the occasion expressed himself in a manner offensive to the Alsace clergy about the behaviour of the latter at the Reichstag elections.

first-rate official. If his Majesty would hold out to him the prospect of reinstatement, I then suggested, the measure would be softened. The Emperor remained silent.

We soon reached Urville. Here there was a grand reception at the station. I drove with the Emperor to the Tribune, where the notabilities were all drawn up to receive us. Jaunez first made his speech; then the old burgomaster, Dury, gave an address in French. The Emperor answered both in German, but afterwards had a talk in French with the old burgomaster. Then came the Bishop, who made — or, rather, read — a speech, which the Emperor answered. Then, through a lane formed by, I think, a thousand school-children and military and choral unions from Lorraine, we drove to Urville. The castle has been made extremely pretty, and also the garden, and the Emperor was delighted with his new possession.

We soon came away, and drove back to Metz.

In the evening there was a dinner, at which Prince Albrecht did the honours in the name of the Emperor. I sat between Eulenburg and the Italian general. On the right of Eulenburg sat Caprivi.

To-day, at the parade, I took advantage of a long spell of the Grand Duke's company to sound him as to how matters stood between the Emperor and the Chancellor. The Grand Duke said that the ill-humour about the Würtemberg manœuvres (which had been excited by the military) was over. I warned the Grand Duke against a second change of Chancellors, and found him of the same opinion. After the parade, breakfast with the Emperor and other exalted personages, and afterwards I found an opportunity of telling the Imperial Chancellor of my talk with the Grand Duke. He is, now as before, resolved to remain in office, and he thanked me for having spoken to the Grand Duke. In the evening there was a military dinner, when the Emperor made a speech to the Sixteenth Corps, to which Haeseler replied. Then "tattoo," which we heard from a pavilion built by the town for that purpose.

At five the manœuvres began. I had work to do, so did not drive out, and in the afternoon I paid visits. At seven o'clock the great municipal dinner, also in the military casino. The Emperor delivered an address to the Lorrainers, to which I replied. After dinner some of the gentlemen, amongst them Lucanus, and the Strassburg "Ministers," besides Bulach, Schlumberger, and others, came to me, and beer-drinking went on till half-past eleven.

September 6.

In the morning inspection of the plans for the restoration of the cathedral of Metz. In the afternoon Caprivi came to me. We talked about the Press law and its introduction into Alsace-Lorraine. Caprivi is against it, and advised that none of

the sovereign rights belonging to the Alsace-Lorraine Government should be given up. As regards the Imperial Press law, it was bad, and ought to be altered if the Reichstag could be induced to agree to a change. But that was far ahead.

Concerning the nomination of Posadowsky, Caprivi related the following: During a sitting of the Reichstag the Emperor had once come into the House, had sent for him to come out, and had spoken disparagingly of the Minister of War. Caprivi, however, had said: "Kaltenborn cannot be dispensed with before the details of the new military statute are adjusted." At the same time he (Caprivi) informed the Emperor that Maltzahn wanted to resign, and mentioned to the Emperor three names for the post of secretary — first Huene, who, however, was out of the question; then Schraut, who offered no guarantee that he might not become the agent of Miquel, for he had no independence of character; and, thirdly, Aschenhorn, who was clever, but very unpopular in the Reichstag. The Emperor then suggested Posadowski, of whom he had heard much good in Posen. Caprivi made inquiries of the Chief President, and of Günther and Zedlitz, the two former Chief Presidents, heard a satisfactory account of Posadowski, and so he was chosen.

On the 7th there were manœuvres, from which I kept away. I remained at home all the morning, and took a walk in the afternoon to learn my way about the town. In the evening there was a dinner at the district Presidency, at which Prince Albrecht presided.

At eight I drove with Diringshofen to the manœuvre grounds, and found a very good place from which we could see the fire of the batteries of both army corps, several infantry skirmishes, and finally the attack on the infantry of the whole body of cavalry, who galloped down the mountain. A very interesting sight, but an impossible action in real war.

In the afternoon I went to Strassburg in order to receive the Emperor there on the following day. We were at the Neudorf railway station — Alexander, Diringshofen, Hoseus, and Dieckhoff, and myself — at 9.30. In the train which came in then were Prince Albrecht and the Bavarian princes. Soon after came the Imperial special train, bringing the Emperor and the Crown Prince of Italy. Greetings, and driving in front of the Emperor, who rode on horseback with his guests and his suite, to the Polygon. The parade was like all parades. We did not stay till the end, but drove quickly home, breakfasted, and then mounted the Princes' special train, which took us to Metz by four o'clock. I went to the station to await the Emperor's arrival, and go with him to the Presidency, where we looked through the plans of the cathedral buildings. At seven in the evening there was a parade dinner, at which the Emperor delivered a speech in honour of the Grand Duke of Baden, and the Fifteenth Army Corps. After

dinner there came a few gentlemen, amongst them Caprivi, to drink beer with me. We broke up at 11.30.

On September 9 I drove at 10.30 to Kurzel in order to wish the Emperor good-bye before his departure. I found Haeseler (the Emperor was still at church); then came the Prince of Naples by train from Metz, and soon afterwards the Emperor. I had the satisfaction of being thanked by the Emperor for the successful way in which his visit to Metz and Strassburg had gone off. He said that in no Old German town could he have had a better reception. When I told him that I should see him again at Lauterburg, he said I must not think of it, but must go away and shoot stags. I protested, however, and said: "Then they will think in Alsace that I am out of favour." The Emperor answered: "That's the last thing that they have reason to think now."

I paid my adieux to the Italian Crown Prince also, and then the Royalties went off, and I got back into my carriage and returned to Metz.

STRASSBURG, *September 14, 1893.*

Yesterday morning at 9.30, in consequence of an invitation I had received, I went to Karlsruhe, where I arrived at 11.45, and drove to the palace. Andlaw, who received me in the porch, told me that the Emperor had not yet returned from the manoeuvres, and that I was to lunch with the Grand Duchess at one o'clock. I found there the Hereditary Grand Duchess, Lucanus, Caprivi, Philipp Eulenburg, and the ladies. After breakfast Eulenburg came up to me, and told me all the latest news. He had been with the Kaiser in England, and had been witness of the ill-feeling then existing between the Kaiser and Caprivi. Eulenburg had feared that after the return there would come a rupture. But things had righted themselves. Meanwhile, he said, the military party, with Hahnke at their head, were now, as before, working for Caprivi's overthrow, and the storm was only postponed. They will have nothing more to do with a general at their head who is also Chancellor; they only want a Minister of War who suits them, and with whom they can transact their business directly. Who, however, this War Minister will be is not yet decided. The Grand Duke, who confirmed these statements, will not hear of Bronsart, because he is too easy-going, and he considers Bluhme the right man, which Caprivi has lately disputed. Philipp Eulenburg thinks that perhaps Eulenburg the first Minister would do very well as Chancellor. His physical weakness would be against him (as far as I am concerned he would be all right). The Emperor knows of no one yet. Of me there is happily no question. I heard from Caprivi that Bismarck had had an attack of inflammation of the lungs, and was still lying ill at Kissingen. His condition, however, is kept secret.

At half-past six I went to the Grand Duke. He spoke first of all

to me about the intrigues of the military against Caprivi in the same sense as Eulenburg had done, and I spoke to him of what would be the consequences for him if he was marked out by the Press and by public opinion as the man who had now again been the cause of a change of Chancellor. He took this very well, and expressed, with apparent sincerity, his agreement with my views. He knows no one, moreover, whom he could put in Caprivi's place.

After dinner, and at the end of the reception and of the performance of the choral union, the Emperor came up to me and again expressed his great satisfaction with his stay in Lorraine and Alsace, and so on. He then spoke of Bismarck's illness, and of Bismarck's retirement, and of his hitherto hostile action. Of any personal feeling I saw no trace.

At 8.30 P.M. I returned to Strassburg, and as the Emperor goes to-day from the manœuvres at Lauterburg straight to Stuttgart the Imperial journey is at an end.

BERLIN, December 14, 1893.

To-day I was with Miquel, who has doubts about the tax upon the manufacture of tobacco being arranged. The Reichstag could not be reckoned on. The result would be that the different States would have to pay the costs of the military organisation. Universal suffrage was impossible. The elections were always bringing worse and worse elements into the Reichstag. The only way — but it was one which must not be mentioned yet — was to elect a fourth of the deputies from the different provincial assemblies. He (Miquel) is opposed to the abolition of exceptional laws in Alsace-Lorraine. With the wallowings of the French this was out of the question, and the general political situation did not allow of such an experiment. Eulenburg, on whom I called afterwards, is of the same opinion. As regards the Jesuits, he thinks the Prussian Government could not possibly take their part. We could not show our faces again in such a case. The feeling of the Protestants was too strongly antagonistic, and the Government would cut the ground from under its feet if it voted for the Jesuits in the Bundesrath.

This evening to the *Hannele* — a ghastly performance, Social-Democratic-realistic, added to which sickly sentimental mysticism, uncanny, debilitating, altogether abominable. We went afterwards to Borchardt in order to get back into a human frame of mind by means of champagne and caviar.

December 15.

I talked with Holstein to-day about the reproaches which the Bismarck Press had levelled against the *neue Kurs* and its foreign politics, against which Holstein sets as faults of the Bismarckian policy the Berlin Congress, the intervention in China

in favour of France, the prevention of the collision of England and Russia in Afghanistan, and the whole policy of harassing Russia. Respecting Bismarck's last plan, to leave Austria in the lurch, he says that by adopting it we should have made ourselves so contemptible that we should be quite isolated and dependent on Russia. Crispi's Ministry causes anxiety both to Caprivi and also to Marschall and Holstein, because they are never certain what this somewhat excitable man will do. Besides which he has chosen that restless spirit Blanc as his Minister for Foreign Affairs which is also a matter for uneasiness. It is now a question of appointing a skilful ambassador to Rome, and Holstein has Bernhard Bülow in mind, which I think very reasonable.

December 28.

This morning I went to the Imperial Chancellor to take my leave of him. We discussed the Russian commercial treaty and the Conservatives. I raised the question whether the Government could tolerate that the Government presidents and the provincial councils should join with the Peasant League in agitating against the international commercial policy of the Government. He said they were just on the point of summoning a Ministerial council to discuss this very question. It was not advisable to proceed against the provincial councillors, but the Government presidents might well be packed off.

BERLIN, January 19, 1894.

Early yesterday Münster came to me and spoke of the rumour that he was to be dismissed. He has no desire to go, but is ready to send in his resignation if they do not want him any more.

At one o'clock I was at luncheon with the Empress Frederick. I found Münster there, with his daughter, and General Loë. Besides the Empress, there were also Prince Henry and Prince Schaumburg-Lippe, with their wives, and the Duchess of Mecklenburg. Prince Henry's son, five years old, a nice, wide-awake boy, was also at table. The Empress was charming, as always, and did not talk politics. Prince Henry makes an agreeable impression.

Yesterday evening there was a dinner at the Minister Eulenburg's, in honour of Fritz Hohenzollern and his wife. I sat between Prince Hohenzollern and Frau von Hindenburg, Münster's daughter. She told me a great deal about her Russian affairs, which she manages for herself and her brother. They have all sorts of difficulties (and that in the Government of Pensa). There were also present the once beautiful Countess Harrach, *née* Pourtalès, the Countess August Eulenburg, and several other ladies unknown to me. The Italian Ambassador, Lanza, had himself introduced to me.

BERLIN, January 20, 1894.

To-day I paid a few visits, and soon came home again to dress for the State dinner. I decked myself out with Bavarian and Spanish orders. The dinner was very brilliant. I sat between the Spanish Ambassadors and a *marquise* (the lady-in-waiting of the Princess Eulalie), who arrived here yesterday from Munich. After dinner, during the circle, I learnt that the Princess Eulalie intends coming to Strassburg somewhere about February 4, and so I invited her to our ball. She will write, however, to say if she is coming.

With the Emperor I had a long conversation. He represented to me that it was necessary to dismiss the old chief presidents. But Eulenburg was putting obstacles in his way. In place of the old chief president in Breslau, the Emperor would like to appoint Hermann Hatzfeld, because he is of opinion that distinguished landed proprietors would specially approve of him. But he does not wish it to be talked about. With Studt he is well satisfied. I concluded, from the remarks he addressed to me, that he does not class me among the old, useless people.

Our conversation lasted so long that the Empress and the Court marshals had to remind us that it was time for the *théâtre paré* at the Opera House.

BERLIN, January 21, 1894.

The *Ordensfest* of to-day went off as usual. A very solemn service in the castle chapel, then luncheon at one in the White Saloon. I sat by the Austrian Ambassador, Szögenyi. The event of the day, which was also discussed at Holstein's with Pourtales and Marschall in the evening, was the appearance of Herbert Bismarck, who had driven over in an open eight-sprunged *calèche* from Henckel. I saw him in the chapel, where he behaved quite unconstrainedly. After luncheon his friends at Court, Eulenburg, Pückler, Lehndorff, and others, got him up close to the Emperor. The Emperor, however, did not speak to him. Hence great indignation among the Bismarckians. They declared that the Emperor had notified to Herbert Bismarck that he would speak with him. This, however, cannot be true. For when the Emperor sends any one a message like that he does not cut him in so marked a manner. There had been hopes of effecting a *rapprochement*, and therewith demolishing Caprivi's position. This has now failed. Münster's position is unshaken. They are of opinion here that he might still do good service in Paris.

BERLIN, January 22, 1894.

The presence of Herbert Bismarck yesterday at the *Ordensfest* is still fluttering the doves. In the Casino the Emperor is accused of having informed Herbert Bismarck that he wanted to speak to him, and then of having cut him. The truth is that

Eulenburg, through Kanitz and Blumenthal, brought Herbert close to the Emperor. If the Emperor had spoken to him the enemies of Caprivi would have exploited the incident for their own purposes. The Emperor was at Marschall's to-day, and he abused Herbert. Nevertheless, at the same moment he sent an *aide-de-camp* to Friedrichsruh with wine and a message of congratulation to the Prince on his recovery. Bismarck answered with a complimentary letter, and said he should come here after the birthday to thank the Emperor in person. This has again caused great excitement. My friends in the Foreign Office are somewhat perturbed, because they are afraid that Bismarck will persuade the Emperor to choose another Chancellor, and Holstein actually said I ought to advise the Emperor to have me with him when he was receiving Bismarck! This, however, I shall, of course, not do. If I had an opportunity of speaking to the Emperor I might, perhaps, advise him to have a witness present. At any rate, however, caution is necessary. If a Bismarck *régime* came in I should naturally not remain much longer at Strassburg, but should have to make way for a friend of Bismarck's. As regards the fulfilment of the Russian treaty of commerce, the *rapprochement* with Bismarck is of decisive importance. The Conservatives and anti-Caprivites are triumphing this evening. I still think, however, that the matter will not turn out so badly as it appears. Anyhow, it is well that I am here now.

BERLIN, January 25, 1894.

This morning I went to the Reichstag; at four o'clock to Holstein's, where I found Pourtalès, who promised to speak to the Master of the Ceremonies, Kanitz, about the precedence of the Statthalter. At present there is no such thing. There was much talk about the expected arrival of Bismarck (to-morrow at one). The affair has its dangers. The reception of Bismarck, who is to be met by Prince Henry and driven to the palace, will throw the Emperor somewhat into the shade and damage the Monarchy. On the other hand, the German public will rejoice greatly and be grateful to the Emperor for having made this move towards reconciliation. Caprivi, with whom I dined yesterday evening, at Winterfeldt's in company with Philipp Ernst and Alexander, owns that he was not informed of the Emperor's intention. He bears it resignedly. I should not like to be Chancellor under such conditions. Meanwhile it is well that he is so resigned and that we can keep him with us, provided Bismarck, in his interview, does not find ways and means of bringing him under suspicion with the Emperor. Caprivi, through the whole of this evening's talk, showed himself a dignified, honourable, loyal man. God grant that he may weather this storm.

BERLIN, January 27, 1894.

Yesterday was the eventful day on which Bismarck's visit took place. Shuvaloff had invited me and Alexander to breakfast, in

order to see the Prince drive by. At one o'clock the carriage came in sight — a closed state coach, in which Bismarck sat with Prince Henry. The very numerous crowd that had gathered greeted the carriage with a "Hoch," but there was no sign of any great enthusiasm. The reception at the door by the Emperor, who was surrounded by his staff and his Court, is said to have been very cordial. Bismarck went with the Emperor to the Empress's apartments, and then had luncheon alone with their Majesties. Later on he drove to the Empress Frederick's and dined at six o'clock in her apartment. His sons and the deputation of his regiment had also been invited, and the Emperor was also present. At seven o'clock he drove back to Friedrichsruh. The Emperor, on his afternoon ride along the Linden, was received with great enthusiasm. It is certain that this reconciliation has gained the Emperor great popularity through the whole of Germany.

In the afternoon I left my card on Bismarck. Then I drove to see Miquel, who approves highly of the reconciliation. He told me that Bismarck's chief vexation in his retirement was that the new *régime* had not followed up any further the treaty concluded with Russia. The treaty, so Miquel said, had guaranteed that Germany should leave Russia a free hand in the East, while Russia, on the other hand, pledged herself to remain neutral in case of a war with France, even though Austria should lend a hand in the East.

Early this morning there was Divine service in the castle chapel. I had an opportunity of congratulating the Emperor on yesterday and to-day, which he received very graciously.

BERLIN, January 27 (evening), 1894.

This evening there was a gala performance at the Opera. I was in the proscenium box with the ambassadors and ambassadresses. Spontini's *Fernand Cortez* was given — the most *assomant* opera in the world; and afterwards *tableaux vivants*.

Between the acts there was a reception in the foyer. I first talked with the different monarchs, the Kings of Würtemberg and Saxony, the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, and others. Then I was summoned to the Empress, of whom I took my leave. Soon after the Emperor came also, and I took leave of him, as I was going away the next day. We got on the subject of Bismarck's visit yesterday, and the happy results which it would have for the Emperor. "Yes," said the Emperor, "now they can erect triumphal arches for him in Vienna and Munich. I am always a horse's length ahead of him. If the Press begins to scold again, it will put itself and Bismarck in the wrong." I remarked that the rabid Bismarckians had not been at all satisfied with the visit, and insisted that the Emperor ought to go to Friedrichsruh. "I know," said the Emperor, "but they might have waited long

enough for that. It was for him to come here." On the whole, the Emperor talked very reasonably and with great decision, and by no means gave me the impression of wanting to change everything.

BERLIN, *March 18, 1894.*

On Saturday I was invited to the Imperial luncheon at 1.15. I met there Caprivi, Marschall, Werder, Thielmann, and a few other councillors of the Foreign Office. At table I sat next to the Emperor. I asked him if it was true that he had told Kanitz that he must vacate his post or else vote for the treaty, and he answered energetically in the affirmative. After breakfast the Emperor showed us his Turkish rooms, which are very richly furnished with carpets and rugs, mostly presents from the Sultan. I thought the Emperor looked very robust; all the rumours of illness are only mischievous inventions of those who are speculating on a regency.

BERLIN, *June 17, 1894.*

The Imperial Chancellor, on whom I called yesterday, thinks a Catholic faculty would be advantageous, whereas Lucanus told me yesterday that the Emperor will not hear of it. He fears conflicts with the Curia, and Lucanus urged that the priests educated at the Catholic university of Breslau were no better than the clergy trained in the seminaries. His advice is to go slowly, as even the Centre would oppose. He will let the matter rest for another month or two and then see whether the Emperor will make up his mind to it. We could always be studying the subject in the meantime.

Speech at a dinner presided over by the Rector of the University, PROFESSOR WINDELBAND, June 25, 1894.

Gentlemen, The friendly utterances of his Magnificence, for which I tender my sincere thanks, afford me the opportunity of greeting not only the Rector Magnificus, but also the body of philosophers. It is the first time since I have been in Strassburg that a philosopher by profession has held the Rectorship. And if I lay special stress on this fact, it is because philosophical study has never been quite foreign to me, and because my youth fell at the time when philosophy constituted the central point of academic study, and from it, as we held, went out those rays of light whose business it is to illumine the other branches of learning. Things have changed since then. It seems to me that young students are now turning more and more away from philosophy. I do not know whether it is that, with Virchow, they consider that we have passed out of the philosophical age into the age of natural science, or whether they are frightened away by the infidel and disturbing tendencies of the most

recent philosophers, whom to study is almost to make one wish that Dr. Falb may be right in his prophecy that in the year 1899 a great comet will destroy the earth, and that all human vermin, inclusive of supermen and the beasts that perish, will be swept away.

Our revered Rector does not belong to this class of thinkers. To him the *veritates æternæ* are no antiquated standpoint. And, though he is a man who lives in the present, he still knows how to keep alive in the young the ideal views and enthusiasms without which life is a poor thing at best. And so I have the pleasure of wishing him and us and the University the best of good fortune, and that in spite of all rumours of foreign appointments we may still keep him a long time with us.

Let us, therefore, empty our glasses and join in the cry: "The Kaiser Wilhelm University and its worthy Rector — long may they live!"

Journal.

BERLIN, August 16, 1894.

At seven o'clock I was in Berlin. After I had had a bath and changed I went to see Caprivi. I gave him all the news from Alsace-Lorraine that might interest him. Caprivi thought I should not see the Emperor until the state dinner. The America tariff question, about which Schraut had already spoken to me, worries him a good deal. The Americans want to raise the duty on sugar against those States which grant a bounty on export to their manufacturers. A tariff war with America was not to be thought of. The Agrarian party would use these questions, on which the Government was powerless, to put difficulties in the way of the Ministry. Saurma, who had been appointed ambassador at Washington to replace the far more capable Holleben, since the latter was required at Stuttgart by the King of Württemberg, was not equal to the situation. Finally I asked further what Caprivi would say to my wishing to make Bulach District President. He strongly dissuaded me. The situation was not such that the attempt could be risked at present. The commanding generals were complaining, Caprivi said, about the ingress of so many French officers. He advised me, however, not to trouble myself about it.

BERLIN, August 18, 1894.

To-day the parade of the whole corps of Guards took place. However, I did not go, not wishing to tire myself unnecessarily, as in the evening I had to go to Potsdam for the dinner.

At a quarter to five I drove with Diringshofen to the station, to take the special train to Wildpark. It was a considerable time before the Emperor came, as Caprivi had a report to make. The Emperor gave me hasty greeting in passing, and then we sat

down. A very big dinner. I sat between Fritz Hohenzollern and Albedyll. After dinner Kanitz brought me to the Emperor. . . . I spoke also of the theological faculty in Strassburg. Then he passed on to Bernhard Bülow, with whom he conversed at great length about Italy. On the way back I made the acquaintance of the Landrat von Stubenrauch, who has no very pleasant exterior, but appears to be a man of intelligence and strong nerve, and with whom I had an exhaustive conversation. He might do very well as Prefect of Police in Berlin.

SCHLOSS FRIEDRICHSHOF, *October 11, 1894.*

As soon as I had received the news that the Empress Frederick expected my visit at Friedrichshof, I left Strassburg by the 9.40 train, arrived at Frankfurt at 2.30, and hoped to be able to continue my journey at once. However, the train had already gone. I inquired for the next, and received the not very consoling answer that there was none until half-past five; so that I should not arrive at Kronberg before six o'clock, when I had announced myself for three. I therefore sent Schmidt to Homburg to recover the trunk that had been sent there in error and take it to Friedrichshof, and took a cab at the station, as it would be an hour before a more decent carriage could be obtained; drove in this slow conveyance to Kronberg and the neighbouring castle, where I arrived at five o'clock. Here I was received at the entrance by Hugo Reischach and Margarete, and while I was taking off my coat the Empress also came up and led me into the hall, where I found Fräulein von Faber and a daughter of Professor Esmarch. After a hasty cup of tea I was taken by the Empress through the beautiful park. Unfortunately we could not enjoy the view, as everything was shrouded in thick mist. The park is large, very well kept, and has fine old trees. The castle, in Renaissance style, is large, roomy, and exceedingly comfortable. On our return from our walk the Empress led me to my room. A large room, with a great four-post bed, and a dressing-room and bath-room leading out of it. All very handsome, tasteful, and convenient; only the bath-taps for hot and cold water are so elegant that to-day I had great difficulty in turning them on, and could scarcely turn them off again.

Supper was at eight o'clock. As I had only had a cup of coffee at Strassburg and a cup of tea here, the meal was acceptable. After supper we sat a little while longer in the hall; then the Empress retired, and the others went up to the smoking-room, above mine. There is no smoking elsewhere in the house. Seckendorff, Reischach, and the ladies stayed till half-past eleven, when we all went to bed.

This morning we breakfasted with the Empress. Afterwards she showed me her drawing-rooms and art treasures, as well as the library, in which she pointed out the pictures of the late owner,

Count von Kronberg. She has also bought the ruins of Kronberg, opposite the castle, which she intends to restore by degrees and perhaps to arrange as a museum. When we had seen everything the Emperor requested an artist or *savant*, who was engaged in the drawing-room, to take me over to the old castle, which can be reached in a quarter of an hour. Lunch is at one, and the King of Greece is expected.

Before leaving I visited, with the Empress and the King of Greece, the stables, that Reischach has arranged very handsomely, and of which he is very proud. I then took my leave and went to Frankfurt, and from there at five o'clock to Strassburg, where I arrived at half-past ten. At Kronberg there was also some talk of the illness of the Emperor of Russia, the seriousness of which is doubted by the Empress, while the newspapers and Princess Urussow consider the Emperor beyond hope.

THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLORSHIP
AND THE LAST DAYS

1894-1901

THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLORSHIP AND THE LAST DAYS

1894-1901

PRINCE HOHENLOHE has left copious notes of the period of his Chancellorship of the German Empire. The value of these notes, apart from their disclosures of the course of German foreign policy, consists in their unreserved presentment of the difficulties and struggles of domestic politics, which were occasioned more by the persons than by the things themselves. Peremptory considerations, therefore, prevent their complete publication at the present time. Nevertheless, in order to complete the picture of his life, some extracts will be given which will at least throw partial light upon the impressions and experiences of the Prince during the last period of his life, his personal affairs, and the feelings of his old age.

At noon on October 26, 1894, the Prince was summoned to Potsdam by a telegram of the Emperor. From the wording of this despatch he knew no more than that it was a question of "important interests of the Empire." That the Imperial Chancellor, Count Caprivi, and the Prussian Premier, Count Eulenburg, had tendered their resignations, and that these had been accepted, the Prince learned first from a newspaper in passing through Frankfurt.

After his arrival at Potsdam on the morning of October 27, when the Emperor met him at the station and accompanied him to the New Palace, the negotiations began, and on October 28 the Prince decided, yielding to the urgent request of the Emperor, to take over the office of Imperial Chancellor. It is true that at the last moment the Princess, in her anxiety lest the health of the Prince, who was already seventy-five, should suffer through the burden of office, had tried in vain to dissuade him from his determination, and had even telegraphed to the Emperor or the Empress with this object. On October 29 the appointment of the Prince as Imperial Chancellor and President of the Council of Ministers was published in the *Reichsanzeiger*.

A high official wrote to the Prince on this occasion: "Your Highness has a great patriotic mission before you. I do not know any one but you who is capable of dispelling the dangers of the present time. Your name, your past, inspires a confidence which no German statesman, except Prince Bismarck, can command."

The feeling of an imperious patriotic duty had decided the Prince to overcome his grave scruples against accepting the Emperor's mandate.

On October 31 the Prince took up his residence in the palace of the Imperial Chancellor, and at two o'clock presided at a sitting of the Prussian Ministry, which now included, besides the newly-appointed Minister of the Interior, von Köller, the Secretary of State, von Marschall. On November 5 the Prince presided for the first time over the Federal Council. On the 7th he left Berlin again, and after a stay of two days in Munich, where he was received by the Prince Regent, arrived on the evening of the 10th at Strassburg, where he remained until the evening of the 18th. On the 12th he received a deputation from the University of Strassburg, which presented him with an address, on the 16th the Common Council of Strassburg, the Burgomaster of Metz, and numerous deputations from the authorities, from corporations and societies. To the address of the Burgomaster of Strassburg the Prince replied: "I had accustomed myself to the idea of looking upon the city of Strassburg as my second home. I hoped to end my life here, in the performance of the duties that have become dear to me, and surrounded by the confidence of the inhabitants, or, at least, to remain here as long as my strength should last and the confidence of the Emperor continued to be extended to me. Now the confidence of his Majesty has called me to another place, and I must obey the call. . . . Before I depart I thank you most heartily for the confidence you have shown me, and for the sympathy you have evinced towards me during my nine years of office, and particularly at this time. . . . May God protect this land and this city!"

The Prince expressed his thanks for the brilliant demonstration at his departure in these words: "The proofs of friendly feeling which have been shown me by the inhabitants of Strassburg and a great part of the population of Alsace-Lorraine have touched me deeply. I can find no words to express my thanks as I should wish. I beg you to tell your fellow-citizens that it is very, very hard for me to say good-bye to Alsace-Lorraine. What I have met with in the last few days is the greatest distinction that can be shown to a man engaged in public life. I am proud of it, and shall carry the remembrance of it in my heart to my last day as the fairest reward of an active life."

The Prince travelled by Baden to Schillingsfürst, and was back in Berlin on November 21. On November 24 he received the officials of the Foreign Office.

PRINCE HOHENLOHE *to* PRINCE BISMARCK.

BERLIN, *November 26, 1894.*

YOUR HIGHNESS, — Since his Majesty has called me to the post of Imperial Chancellor, it has been my wish to satisfy

myself as to the health of your Highness and of the Princess by a personal visit. The news of the approaching return of your Highness to Friedrichsruh had induced me to postpone my visit till then, the more so as my official duties, at the moment of taking over the post, do not admit of so long an absence as a visit to Varzin would require.

To my keen regret I must conclude, from an application for leave from Count Rantzau which has just come before me, that the state of health of the Princess gives renewed cause for anxiety, and that the journey to Friedrichsruh will presumably be still further delayed.

I would therefore avail myself of the present means, until I am able to do so personally, to beg your Highness kindly to inform me of the health of the Princess.

PRINCE BISMARCK to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

VARZIN, November 27, 1894.

When I received your Highness's official letter of yesterday I was on the point of expressing to you my pleasure and satisfaction at your having taken over the office of Imperial Chancellor. In the meantime God has laid a heavy sorrow upon me,* which your Highness will share with me. If your Highness will honour me at an early date with a visit to Friedrichsruh, I shall be heartily pleased, and shall have an opportunity of personally expressing to you my confidence and my cordial thanks for your sympathy.

With great truth and respect, I am,

Your Highness's most obedient servant,

VON BISMARCK.

Journal.

January 14, 1895.

Yesterday I went with Alexander to Friedrichsruh. We had announced our visit beforehand. We arrived about one o'clock, were received at the station by Herbert and Rantzau, and most kindly welcomed by the Prince in the entrance-hall. Countess Rantzau and Schweninger, and a young man who probably was Chrysander, were present. We soon went in to lunch. I found the Prince looking very well, but his voice weaker than formerly, which may have been the result of his having waited lunch for me, and being on that account, as he said himself, hungry and rather tired. After a few glasses of Moselle he was refreshed. Before lunch was over I delivered myself of the Emperor's commission, and told the Prince that the Emperor would summon him to the Council of State. This seemed to affect him very agreeably. I added that the position of Vice-President remained open to him. We then went on to speak of Kanitz's

* Princess Bismarck died on November 27.

proposal, and of the agricultural distress, and Bismarck's advice was, not to take up an uncompromising position against the proposal. It would not, however, meet with a majority in the Reichstag. For the rest, no large measures were of any use, but only small measures. About the debate which overthrew the Government he spoke with approval. I had done right not to lose myself in details. Bismarck then spoke once more on his favourite subject, the *Ressortpartikularismus*, of the envy of the Germans, especially of his fellow-junkers, who could not forgive him for having risen over their heads and become a prince. In this connection he thought that my position as a prince of the Empire was a much more favourable one. The junkers could not be envious of me.

After lunch we went sleighing in the forest. During the drive we talked of Miquel, Scholz, of the law of accountancy, of which he disapproves; then of the treaty with Russia, which Caprivi had not renewed because the policy it led to was too complicated for him. The difficulty of my position lay in the sudden decisions of his Majesty.

When I spoke of my acceptance of the post, and expressed my regret at being obliged to take it over, he said it was an honourable duty which I could not have shirked.

I must add that the Prince pointed out a modification of the railway tariff as the means of assisting agriculture.

On our return to the house we had tea, and then I went to the station. The Prince said at parting that he wished me success and courage.

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BUDA,* *September 5, 1895.*

I am writing to you at my desk, from which I have a view across the meadows to the woods. The weather is magnificent, and my stay here as pleasant as it could possibly be. . . .

On Sunday I shall have to be off again; will stay one day at Werki, and then go on to St. Petersburg to present myself to the Emperor. It was not to be avoided.

Journal.

ST. PETERSBURG, *September 10, 1895.*

On Tuesday at half-past eleven we arrived at St. Petersburg, where Radolin met me with the whole Embassy. We lunched at one. Then I paid my visit to Lobanow.

ST. PETERSBURG, *September 11.*

By a written message from the Chief Master of Ceremonies I was informed that the Emperor and Empress would receive me at a quarter past twelve at Peterhof. I therefore drove to the

* A hunting-lodge on the Russian property.

station at half-past nine, accompanied by Herr von Romberg (of the Embassy), arrived at Peterhof at a quarter past eleven, where a Royal carriage was in waiting which brought me to a house in the park at Peterhof, where I waited till the time of the audience. At the appointed time I drove to the little villa occupied by the Imperial couple. Benckendorff received me, and in a few minutes I was conducted to the Emperor. He received me with great friendliness, inviting me to sit at his writing-table. I conveyed to him the greetings of the Emperor.

He then asked me how long I had been at Strassburg; could understand, when I told him, how unwillingly I had gone to Berlin, &c.

Then, passing to his work, he thought it had now entered upon a period of calm, since every one was going on leave. Lobanow too was going abroad, and would call on the Emperor in Berlin. Then he inquired about our African colonies, and seemed to take an interest in them as a geographer.

As regards the East Asiatic question, the Emperor expressed his satisfaction that we had acted in concert with him, and was pleased when I told him that we were guided therein by the desire of manifesting our good relations with Russia. The Emperor remarked that there had been some differences of opinion, which were now cleared up, and that the negotiations in Tokyo would do the rest. "*Entre nous,*" he said, "*est-ce que ce n'est pas Monsieur de Marschall qui a été un peu cause de ces différends?*" I protested, and said that Marschall did what he was told, and that we did nothing without having received the commands of the Emperor. Perhaps differences of opinion had given rise to misunderstandings. The Emperor then said: "*Au fond j'ai beaucoup de sympathie pour les Japonais, malgré la blessure dont je porte la marque*"; and he pointed to his forehead, at the side of which there is a little raised scar. "*Mais c'était un fou, un fanatique, quoiqu'un employé de la police. Tout ce que j'ai vu dans ce pays m'a fait une grande impression. J'ai été frappé par le grand ordre qui y règne, par l'activité et l'intelligence de la population. Mais cette sympathie n'a pu m'empêcher d'agir contre les Japonais quand ils ont voulu aller trop loin.*" (This was at least the sense of what he said.) "*Les Chinois sont une horde indisciplinée, qui ont de bonnes armes et des canons et des forteresses, mais ne savent s'en servir.*"

The Emperor then said that he had written in the spring to our Emperor, saying that he would have nothing against our acquiring something in that quarter, so as to have a fixed dépôt or coaling-station. I told him that the Emperor had mentioned this to me under the seal of secrecy, whereat the Czar made a gesture of approval. I then mentioned the Chusan Islands, to which, however, the English lay claim. "Yes," said the Czar, "they always want everything for themselves. Whenever anybody takes anything, the English immediately want to take much more," and he made a gesture of the arm. Thus he had

read in a newspaper that an Englishman had declared that England ought to acquire a point a thousand miles north of Hong Kong. "*Mais ce serait chez nous!*" he added with a laugh. Finally he spoke about Armenia. He had had enough of the Armenian business, and hoped we had now heard the last of it. Bandit raids occurred everywhere. In the Caucasus, too, the Armenians were plundered and gave trouble. It was therefore time to get rid of this question, otherwise the unrest would spread.

As I was leaving he charged me with his best greetings to the Emperor, and said: "*Dites à l'Empereur qu'il continue à m'écrire personnellement quand il aura quelque chose à me communiquer.*"

In the afternoon I returned to St. Petersburg, paid some visits, received the German Colony at six o'clock, and dined at half-past seven with Lobanow.

ST. PETERSBURG, *September 11.*

We followed Lobanow to the church of the fortress, which contains the vault of the Imperial family. Stone coffins stand in the church over the graves of the Emperors and Empresses, as also over those of the Grand Dukes. I was much struck by a comfortably furnished *salon* close to the nave of the church, where the Imperial family can rest when visiting the graves. Perhaps they take tea there? The French wreaths are original. Afterwards we went to the island — a beautiful walk, which I had taken with Philipp Ernst on my last visit. In the evening there was a dinner at the Embassy, where I made the acquaintance of the British Ambassador, Lascelles. A personality which inspires confidence. Lichtenstein gave me good news of Konstantin, which he had had from his sister. He will come to see me to-day.

Table Talk.

Lobanow said after dinner: "We have really done Europe a great service by taking up France. Goodness knows what these people might have taken it into their heads to do if we did not keep them in check." It seems to me there is some truth in this. I talked with Durnovo about communal property in land in Russia, and advised him to reduce it, and to introduce instead individual property, as in Lithuania. He said he was about to do so, and first of all to extend the time to twelve years. It was a remarkable thing, however, that the emigrants to Siberia, to whom private property was granted, demanded communal property. Lobanow had no idea that private property in land existed among the peasants of the western provinces!

Memorandum on military penal procedure, October 31, 1895.

. . . In Bavaria I have taken for a long time — since 1849, in fact — the side of the National party. Since, however, in Bavaria

only Liberals and Particularists — or, rather, Ultramontanes — are to be found, I have had to seek the support of the Liberal party. As an adherent of this party I became a Bavarian Minister. As such I have also introduced the present military penal procedure, in which the publicity of the proceedings was provided for. If I were now to bring in a law to exclude publicity, I should find myself in opposition to the *Prussian* War Minister, who demands publicity; I should be more Prussian than a Prussian general. I should act in contradiction to my past and be exposed to the danger of being reminded in the Reichstag of the Bavarian law introduced by me. I should thus be scoffed at and made ridiculous, and a discredited Chancellor would be of no service to the Emperor. If, therefore, the Minister of War goes against this Bill, then I too shall go against it.

November, 1895.

An old Bavarian jurist, a man of thoroughly national ideas, and free from prejudice, my coadjutor during my Ministry from 1866 to 1870, writes to me: "I urgently beg you not on any account to support a Bill that excludes publicity. Public feeling on this point is quite crazy. If his Majesty only knew what harm he is doing himself by maintaining the opposite point of view! I ascribe the late increase of *lèse-majesté* to this opposition. If the court has the power (as is the case with us) to exclude the public whenever it appears necessary for the safeguarding of discipline, then there can be no danger. I repeat, with as many dissolutions as you like, you will never get a Reichstag together that will pass a military penal procedure without publicity. As a jurist, and also in my private capacity, I regard the question with perfect coolness; I do not care one way or the other. But as things now are, procrastination is a great political blunder. In Bavaria the Ministry would rather resign in a body than alter the Bavarian procedure."

Memorandum prepared in the autumn of 1895.

I know that a number of politicians and highly-placed busybodies are doing their best to discredit me with his Majesty. They want another Chancellor, and pretend there is need of energetic action. What can they gain by this? A conflict with the Reichstag leads to dissolution and to fresh elections, and these to a defeat of the Government. Another dissolution and a *coup d'état* leads to a conflict with the federated Governments, to civil war, and to the dissolution of the German Empire. Then foreign countries would not look on quietly, but would intervene — at least, France would. My policy is to try to get on with the Reichstag. If it grants no financial reforms, then that matter will not be laid before it again next time. The dissatisfaction of the several States with the financial burden will not leave public opinion unaffected, and will prepare the way for new elections.

I myself shall go at any moment, if his Majesty intends to follow those paths.

BERLIN, *January 10, 1896.*

P. complains that Germany is becoming more and more an industrial State. Thereby that part of the population is strengthened upon which the Crown cannot depend — the population of the great towns and industrial districts; whereas the agricultural population provided the real support of the Monarchy. If things went on as at present, then the Monarchy would either pass over to a republic, or, as in England, become a sort of sham monarchy.

I replied that I shared these fears, but that I had not yet found the means of strengthening the rural population. We could not admit the excessive demands of the Agrarians. I see the cause of this in the fact of our having in 1879 exchanged the previous system of comparative free trade for a protective tariff, and thereby transformed Germany into an industrial State.

Extract from a letter to FREIHERR VON VÖLDERNDORFF.

BERLIN, *January 26, 1896.*

. . . I should have replied to you before this, but my time has been taken up by an alternation of jubilee *fêtes* and crises. As a rule, the crises pass off quite peacefully, after having kept my friends in a state of excitement for a few days. So far his Majesty desires no other Chancellor, and backs me up. Under existing circumstances I am still, with all my faults, the best possible Chancellor.

Extract from the PRINCE'S speech at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Federal Council, March 21, 1896.

. . . But few of those heroes are yet among the living.' . . . One, however, the greatest of them all, still stands among us like an oak of the Sachsenwald — Prince Bismarck, who follows the destinies of the Empire with an anxious eye and addresses many a word of admonition to the successors of the great days — the man who, when, after the first attempts at union, we began to have doubts of the future of Germany, never lost hope or courage, who by long and laborious diplomatic work made smooth the path which should lead to the unification of the Empire, and who, when the moment was come, when the seed was ripe, knew how to grasp the opportunity and overcome the difficulties that surrounded him on every side.

Thus, as the faithful servant of his Imperial master, who twenty years ago to-day raised him to the rank of prince, he became the true creator of the Empire.

It is a fine trait in the character of the German people that they unswervingly offer true homage to the man who has devoted his

life to the fulfilment of what has been for centuries the unsatisfied desire of the German nation. The German people does not fail to account it a precious gift of Providence that at that time just this man was entrusted with the destinies of Germany. Let us — and here I address myself to the political opponents of the first Chancellor — let us to-day forget the days of strife, and all unite in the cry: “Long live Prince Bismarck!”

PRINCE BISMARCK to PRINCE HOHENLOHE.

FRIEDRICHSRUHE, *March 22, 1896.*

I beg your Highness to accept the sincerest expression of my thanks for the kind and chivalrous pronouncement in which you remembered me at yesterday's celebration.

At the sitting of the Reichstag of May 18, 1896, in the debate on the military proposals, the Chancellor stated, in reply to the deputy Sieber, that the preparation of the Bill on the subject of military penal procedure was so far advanced that its introduction might be expected in the autumn. This Bill — apart from the particular reservations demanded by the nature of military institutions — “would be framed on the principles of the modern principles of justice.”

Memorandum of the PRINCE of May 19.

My statement has had these results:

1. The acceptance by a large majority of the military proposal for the fourth battalion is assured.
2. Any attempt to fuse this question with that of the military penal procedure is checked *in limine*.
3. The question of publicity is in no way prejudiced, and the decision of this point is postponed till the autumn.

Journal.

June 14, 1896.

In the Chamber of Deputies Count Limburg-Styrum permitted himself an attack upon me, finding fault with me for not taking part in the debate on the Assessors Bill, and alleging that I regarded the Prussian Premiership as an office of secondary importance. I therefore took the opportunity of an interpellation addressed to the Absent Minister of Agriculture to reply in his name, and added a few remarks in which I refuted the uncalled-for observations of Styrum.

In the afternoon there was a long sitting of the Ministry, at which the comprehensive Bill on workman's organisations was discussed. The Bill is foolish enough. But if the workmen want to have compulsion, then we must give it them, with the proviso, as I expressly insisted, that those districts, provinces, or States which do not want compulsion shall be free from it.

This morning Li Hung Chang came to see me in his Yellow Jacket. I went as far as the stairs to receive him, and brought him into my study. He was accompanied by his son and a young Chinaman, as well as the interpreter. A number of Chinese servants waited outside. Li Hung Chang, who speaks no language but Chinese, is very entertaining nevertheless. He is interested in everything, asks questions, and is amiable. He pointed out that we were of the same age, and made some remarks upon the hygiene of old age. He reminds one a little of Bismarck, whom he is to visit at Friedrichsruhe. At half-past twelve a state reception by the Emperor, which I attended, decorated with the Chinese Order of the Dragon.

BERLIN, *August 24, 1896.*

The retirement of Bronsart * has raised a mighty commotion. People began to doubt whether I should carry the military penal procedure. I have therefore had a statement inserted in the *Reichsanzeiger*: "We are authorised to state that," &c. I think on this point calmness will now be restored.

PRINCE HOHENLOHE to GENERAL VON BRONSART.

Your Excellency will permit me to express my sincere regret at your retirement from the post of Minister of War. In the two years of our associated activity we have worked in the most complete harmony. I have always met with such loyal and energetic support from your Excellency that I feel your withdrawal from the Ministry as a severe personal loss. Your Excellency's merits in the administration and organisation of the Army have been recognised in the most competent quarter, and it would not become me, as a layman, to add any words of my own. I may, however, take the opportunity of cordially thanking you for your loyal co-operation in the collective tasks of the Ministry — as one of the most important of which I consider the counteracting everywhere of antimonarchical and revolutionary tendencies. What your Excellency has achieved in this direction will never be forgotten.

Journal.

BRESLAU, *September 5, 1896.*

To-day we drove at eight o'clock to the station to receive the Russian Imperial guests. There was a fine show of all manner of princes and generals. As the train came in I saw only the little Grand Duchess at the window. The train stopped. The red *Tscherkesses* hurried forward. Their Majesties alighted. Embraces, presentations, inspection of the guard of honour, National Anthem, running hither and thither — all as usual. Finally I presented Schischkin to the Emperor.

* On August 14, 1896.

At half-past eleven Osten-Sacken came to see me with Schischkin. In the course of conversation the Eastern question was discussed. Schischkin at once expressed his satisfaction at the Great Powers being unanimous. Thanks to this, the English intrigues had come to nothing. The slightest "fissure" would have been taken advantage of by the English against the Turks. Also, with respect to the Sultan they could not hold too closely together. He was always speculating upon disagreements between the Powers. Schischkin declared himself in favour of the maintenance of the *status quo*. This was also the view of his Emperor. He was full of deference, and concluded by commending himself to my goodwill.

At six o'clock the Russian Emperor stopped his carriage at my door, and told the porter to let me know of it. At seven there was a dinner at the Emperor's. I sat between the hereditary Prince of Meiningen and Woronzow, opposite the Emperor and the Russian Empress. Of course we had noisy music during dinner. Conversation was scarcely to be thought of. The Emperor's speech, emphasising the old tradition of good relations with Russia, was very good. The Emperor Nicholas replied with the assurance "*qu'il était animé des mêmes sentiments de tradition*" as the Emperor William. Afterwards there was the reception, and at nine the tattoo, which lasted till eleven. We sat and stood at the window and on the terrace before the palace in wind and draught. The march past of the seven hundred musicians was imposing. For the rest, the noise of the music was deafening, and all reasonable conversation was out of the question.

BRESLAU, September 6, 1896.

Two o'clock this afternoon was the time fixed for my audience of the Russian Emperor. He received me, as usual, very kindly. The conversation soon turned to politics. The Emperor keenly regrets the death of Lobanow, who was a great support to him. Now he must take decisions himself and work. He was glad that the situation in the East appeared to be quieting down. The disturbances in Constantinople were at an end, and he had also had news to-day from Crete that the inhabitants of the island were calmer and the end of the fighting could be foreseen. In the opinion of the Emperor, England is responsible for the whole movement both in Armenia and in Crete. Of the policy of the British Government his Majesty expressed his most emphatic distrust: "*J'aime beaucoup l'Angleterre et les Anglais, qui me sont sympathiques, mais je me méfie de leur politique.*" He had been told that on the occasion of his visit the English statesmen would try to entrap him into agreements. When I replied that the British Constitution and the fact that English statesmen had to take into account the changes of public opinion made it impossible to

conclude treaties with England, he warmly agreed with me. The Emperor then spoke of Lobanow's idea of obtaining security for passage through the Suez Canal. On my mentioning that England had already given this security, the Emperor assented, and then let the matter drop. The Emperor declared his chief objects to be Russian policy in East Asia and the completion of the Siberian railway. Japan was busily arming. But the Japanese had no money, although for the present the Chinese war indemnity furnished them with resources. When these were exhausted he did not know how they were going to complete their armaments. Besides, it would take them years to do so, and in the meantime the Siberian railway would be ready, and then Russia would be in a position *de faire face à toute éventualité*. . . . Returning to English policy, the Emperor said he had been told that England had the design of bringing Africa from the Cape to Egypt under her sway. This, however, would be a long business. I replied that the English attached so much importance to their supremacy in South Africa because, in their fear of some day losing India, they looked for compensation in South Africa. To this the Emperor replied: "But who is going to take India from them? We are not so foolish as to pursue such a design." Russia had no interests in Africa. If, however, he could succeed in bringing about peace between Italy and Menelik, it would give him great satisfaction. Then followed some talk about the aimlessness of Italian ambitions in Erythræa. When the conversation turned upon his travelling plans, he said he had not spoken to our Emperor about Paris, and asked me whether I had any objection to his visit to Paris. He was pleased at my reply that the visit to Paris seemed to me "*inévitabile*." He emphasised the fact that he had refused to stay at the Quai d'Orsay, or anywhere else in Paris. He would stay at the Embassy, like all his predecessors. That was his own property, just as in Berlin he would also have stayed at the Embassy. These are the principal points of our conversation, which lasted an hour, over cigarettes.

On leaving, the Emperor presented me with the Order of St. Andrew, for which I expressed my thanks, assuring him that I should contribute to the best of my power to the cultivation of good relations between Germany and Russia. "You will not find that difficult," said the Emperor, "for these relations will always remain good."

TO PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BERLIN, October 17, 1896.

. . . My relations with his Majesty are peculiar. I sometimes come, owing to his little acts of thoughtlessness and want of consideration, to the conclusion that he purposely avoids me, and "that it cannot go on." Then I see him again, and think I was mistaken. Yesterday I had occasion for a little talk, in which his Majesty opened his heart to me . . . and took occasion to

ask my advice as a friend. So that my misgivings are at an end.

On February 16 the Prince and Princess celebrated their golden wedding. After the dinner the Prince said: "This celebration is one of thanksgiving. We have given thanks to God during Mass that He has spared us to look back to-day on fifty years of happy married life. And this evening I thank all our friends and relations, and all those who for either a long or short time have, with their love and friendship, travelled with us through the path of life, who have rejoiced with us in our happiness, and mourned with us in the troubles which come to every one in life. I thank you for your sympathy, and I also thank the attendants and servants for their loyal help in lightening the burden of life for us. As I look round me now and see the blessings of family life displayed before my eyes, I am constrained to ask myself whether I have been right in taking up a career which necessarily sacrificed a large part of the joy of family life, and whether I should not have done better to devote myself entirely to my home. And yet it seems to me that to be a member of our family is to be called to high honour and distinction — whether by chance or by one's own desert I will not dare to say. Moreover, if I had not engaged in this public life of activity, my dear wife would have lost opportunities of showing her own capacity. During these thirty years of my political and official life she has helped me through painful and anxious times with her courage and her counsel; and when our political struggles pursued us even in society, she returned the pinpricks which are practised there with blows of a moral bludgeon and smoothed a path by which I could reach my goal. When I passed my abiturient examination many years ago the subject for the German essay was "The meed of praise which is due to merit should be regarded as a debt of honour." I have observed this maxim all my life. To-day I hereby pay the debt of honour.

Journal.

BERLIN, April 7, 1897.

Two questions in the immediate future may imperil my position. One is the regulations for court-martials, the second is the law regarding associations. I am personally involved in both.* Regarding the second question, I have specially promised the Diet to repeal the prohibition to form associated unions. The Minister of the Interior, who has elaborated a Bill by which, beyond the repeal of the prohibition, little important improvement

* At the concluding debate on the Municipal Code on July 27, 1896, the Reichstag wished the repeal of this prohibition to be incorporated in the code. The Prince opposed this, and offered the explanation that questions concerning public rights could be settled by the laws of the land in conformity with the wishes of the Reichstag.

is proposed in the rights of association, hopes to have the draft accepted by the Chamber of Deputies. Conferences with the party leaders justify this hope. I was told yesterday that the National Liberals had changed round, and will not accept the Bill as it is proposed. If this be the case, and should the National Liberals persist in their refusal, the question arises whether we shall bring forward the Bill,* at the risk of its being defeated, or shall content ourselves with bringing forward a Bill removing all prohibition without proposing anything further. In the latter case no one would be able to say that I have not kept my promise.

Journal.

HOMBURG, September 6, 1897.

I can only remain in office if I appear before the Diet with the court-martial regulations in the form which, in my opinion, is necessary, and bring forward the Bill relating to the abolition of the interdiction associations. Then we shall have a peaceful session. If not, I must blame myself, and arouse irritation both inside and outside the Diet, which would be fatal to the naval question and elections.

To BARON VÖLDERNDORFF.

BERLIN, October 31, 1897.

. . . His Majesty is convinced that a further postponement of the Bill would be extremely prejudicial for himself and for the Army. . . . In introducing the Bill further negotiations with Bavaria † will be stipulated for. As, however, at least a year must elapse before it becomes effective we have still time.

I am strongly in favour of the naval measure. I will treat it in the most prudent manner, but I am for a fleet of battleships. There really is no getting on without it.

To the same.

November 7, 1897.

As to the court-martial regulations, unless we succeed in setting aside paragraph 2 to section 270 we shall be exposed to fierce attacks. That I have kept my promise to introduce one of the modern legal points of view corresponding to a reform cannot be argued away, in spite of all attacks which may be made upon the Bill. As to the Navy,‡ very many men hold the opinion that the new Admirals' demands

* The Associations Bill was laid before the Chamber of Deputies on May 13. In the sitting of May 17 the Prince spoke in the first debate.

† Concerning the Superior Courts.

‡ Baron Völderndorff, in a letter dated November 2, had pronounced against the enlargement of the Navy and against colonies.

are not unattainable. What decides me to go in for it is the following: It is always said that the Navy is a whim of the Emperor. And yet it cannot be denied that it is the German people's fault — or, if you like, their merit — that we possess a Navy. In the days of the Germanic Confederation we led a harmless, peaceful existence. We had no political (foreign policy) cares, few taxes, and were spectators of how Austria and Prussia opposed each other in the Diet, in which the medium-sized States and the little States sided first with one, then with the other. This, however, did not satisfy the German people; they wished to form a united whole, and play a part in the world. Students' political associations, the National Assembly, &c., took care that these ideas should become universal. The movement of 1848 was the first result; then came fifty years of reaction without the German people abandoning their aspirations. Then came 1870. Unity was achieved with blood and iron, and the Empire came into being amid the acclamations of the German people. But it soon came to pass that there was no money to set up the State with. The tobacco monopoly was rejected, &c. To obtain money for the State Bismarck changed his policy of Customs duty and renounced moderate free trade. In this too the German people stood by him. We now obtained between three and four hundred millions of money, and the State could live. The policy of a protective tariff, however, produced a colossal development of industry. We ceased to be an agrarian State, and became a manufacturing one. Owing to this our policy had again to be altered, and our aim directed to secure exportation. Commerce developed so much that the Government was called upon to protect it. That could only be done by a fleet — not a coast-defence squadron, but such a one as can maintain our communications. We cannot compete with England in the size of our fleet. We must, however, have a fleet able to repulse a hostile squadron wishing to blockade our ports. If we cannot do this our commerce and our shipping trade will be annihilated. That would mean a loss of milliards as against which the five to six millions for the fleet cannot be taken into account. With regard to the Colonies, I believe that we must learn gradually. The military system has already been abandoned, and we are learning more and more to imitate the English and to direct our Colonists and turn them to profit as merchants. It is not to be denied that the Emperor disturbs things by his impulsive nature. It is to be wished that he were more phlegmatic. It is, however, unjust to reproach him with wishing to call a fleet into existence as a whim or for his pleasure. He is doing nothing but carrying out what the German people has desired for a hundred and fifty years.

On December 21, 1897, Princess Hohenlohe died after a short illness.

TO PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BERLIN, *January 5, 1898.*

To-day the treaty with China was signed at Peking.* The Emperor sent me the enclosed telegram, which deeply moved me.

The Emperor's Telegram.

"Although I am aware that an outward joy cannot assuage a deep inward grief, yet I am filled with the most intense happiness that, by the grace of God, after the terrible blow which has fallen, such a splendid success has been granted you. It is a fine reward for incessant sagacious work and a proud compensation for anxieties endured. Pray kindly accept my Imperial gratitude and hearty congratulations! Have just emptied a glass of champagne in your honour. — W."

TO PRINCE ALEXANDER.

SCHILLINGSFÜRST, *November 4, 1898.*

. . . All Souls' Day was beautiful and like summer. . . . With regard to myself, I find that my sorrow increases. As time goes by one sees all the more clearly† that everything comes to an end, that all memories of these fifty years are buried, that nothing returns. I find truly that there is no consolation for this but death.

I am reading with great interest the proceedings of the Cour de Cassation.‡ The General Staff were over-hasty. Then they perceived their mistake, but had not the courage to confess it openly. Then came low fellows, like Esterhazy and Henry, and offered their forgeries as a deliverance, and the stupid creatures fell into the trap.

Journal.

JAGDSHLOSZ SPRINGE, *December 15, 1898.*

The nearer the sad anniversary of December 21 approaches the more sorrowful I feel. What one did not understand in its full meaning at the first moment, the irreparable loss, the knowledge that this long united life is utterly at an end, that weighs upon me like a burden from which death alone can free me.

Yesterday, on the Royal invitation, I joined the shooting party at Springe. I was obliged to leave Berlin at seven o'clock in order to meet the Royal train. From the Springe railway station we drove straight to the tract of country where game is found. Only pigs were shot. Six fell to my gun. Then we drove back to the Castle, rested some hours, and then went to dinner. The

* About the acquisition of Kiaou Chow.

† In the Dreyfus trial.

Emperor was in great good humour, and talked incessantly. An Uhlan band played, and there was the usual noisy conversation.

There was pig-shooting again to-day. I shot about ten before breakfast; after breakfast six pigs, amongst which were a few fine wild boars; so that in two days my bag amounted to twenty-two.

This evening again dinner and cards. When I am thus amongst Prussian Excellencies the contrast between North and South Germany becomes very perceptible to me. South German Liberalism is no match for the young aristocrats. They are too numerous, too powerful, and have the kingdom and the Army too much on their side. Moreover the Centre goes with them. Everything which I have seen these four years is made clear by this antithesis. The Germans are right in regarding my presence in Berlin as a guarantee of unity. As I laboured from 1866 to 1870 for the union of South and North, so I must strive now to keep Prussia attached to the Empire. For all these gentlemen don't care a fig for the Empire and would rather give it up to-day than to-morrow.

To BARON VÖLDERNDORFF.

BERLIN, *January 4, 1899.*

. . . Your advice that I should resign being President of the Ministry of State is not very practicable. Caprivi did so, and fell thereby. I shall remain provisionally until my eightieth birthday. Then I can go at any moment, without a conflict with his Majesty, and that means much to me. Properly speaking I have no need of rest. . . .

The Prince celebrated his eightieth birthday, on March 31, 1899, in Baden. As the day fell on Good Friday, the banquet only took place on Easter Sunday. Besides the family and a number of friends, the Bavarian Minister, Count von Lerchenfeld, the Secretary of State for Alsace-Lorraine, von Puttkamer, and the chief of the Imperial Chancellor's office, Wilmowski, were present at it. To the greetings of the representative family, of the Diet, and of the Government of the Empire the Prince replied:

"I confess that I was touched to sympathy when, at the beginning of the year, I observed by the calendar that this year my birthday fell on Good Friday. It seemed to me that, with the Good Friday frame of mind which enshrouds my life as with a veil, that day was the most suitable for my birthday. However justified this frame of mind may be, there would be small justification in obtruding it on others, especially on those relatives and friends who from afar have gladly hastened hither to testify their joy that I am still amongst the living. For this reason we have postponed the actual happy celebration, the festive dinner, to Easter Sunday, the day which the Church consecrates to rejoicing.

So to-day we will be happy, and I will thank God Who has granted me this long life. . . . Count Lerchenfeld has in the kindest terms expressed his regard for my political efficiency. If I compare his words with that picture of my energies which rises before my critical eye, I think that he said too much. A conscientious man is never satisfied with his own achievements. It is true that fifty years ago I was a zealous champion of German unity, and have faithfully co-operated to secure that object, though in a position perhaps somewhat subordinate. But I had no opportunity for the performance of great exploits. When I became first Minister in Germany all had been already accomplished, and my task was confined to the maintenance and consolidation of existing creations. This I have performed in conjunction with the honourable representatives of the Federal Governments, who have so kindly received me to-day; and for this kindness I express my hearty thanks.

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BERLIN, *April 13, 1899.*

I arrived here yesterday, and his Majesty called on me to-day at nine o'clock. I took the opportunity to repeat what I had already written to him. He asked me to make a further trial, and told me to let others do my work.

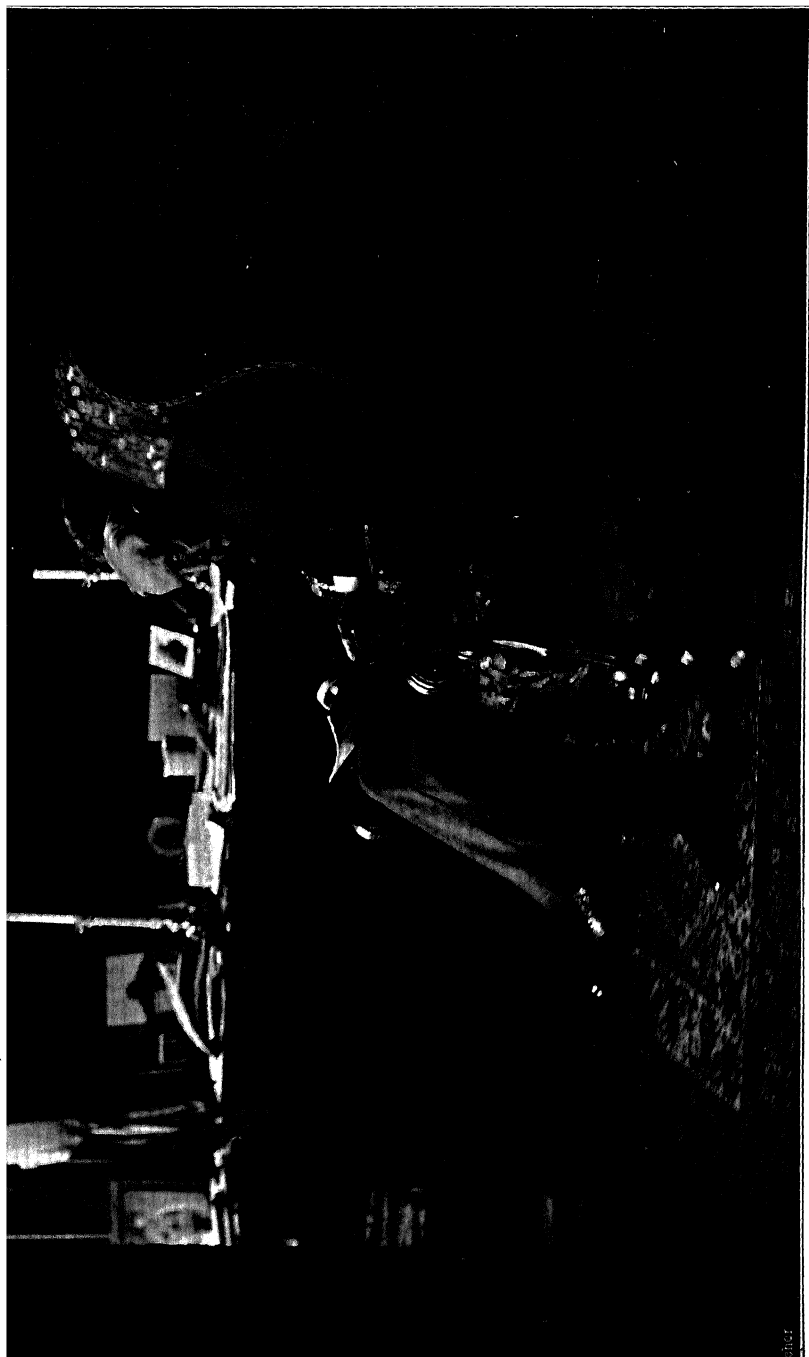
To the same.

WILDBAD, *July 15, 1899.*

. . . Wildbad is a quiet, pleasant place. My popularity is, however, a somewhat inconvenient privilege, as every one salutes me on the promenade. During the serenade of the Kursaal orchestra some unknown person began to cheer, which was taken up with enthusiasm; hence I am convinced of the friendly feelings of these worthy Würtemberg citizens.

Address to the MAYOR OF WILDBAD upon the occasion of the serenade.

I thank you, Mr. Mayor, with all my heart for your kindly words of greeting, and beg you to convey my thanks to your fellow-citizens, the inhabitants of the classic soil of loyal fidelity, for the brilliant pageant with which they have honoured me to-day. I also thank the visitors to this watering-place who have taken part in the procession for the attention which they have thus shown to me. The honour conferred by this celebration is twofold: in the first place it is the warm welcome of my South German compatriots to their South German Chancellor, and it also betokens the acknowledgments of a wider body of people, gathered from the whole of Germany. Such testimony is



PRINCE HOHENLOHE

From a photograph taken towards the close of his life

especially valuable to an old politician, whose energies are nearly spent, because it shows him that he has not lived in vain.

You have referred, Mr. Mayor, to my affability, and I may therefore observe that it would be difficult for the sourest of old diplomatists not to be affable in a town where his every path is strewn with flowers from fair hands, and where he meets none but friendly faces on every side. Hence you may be assured that my stay here will always remain a pleasant memory.

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

ALT AUSSEE, *August 1, 1899.*

I arrived here yesterday evening. I shall have to overcome the impressions which came upon me after my arrival before I feel well. The memories of a whole lifetime rise so clearly before me as to make me quite ill. Human life is a strange thing. A man lives fifty-one years happily and contentedly, and then comes the wreck which destroys everything. And for this was man created; yet it were better for him never to have been born. Sophocles said this centuries ago, and every one knows it and forgets it every day, while life draws to its close, while man receives stars and distinctions, and is then forgotten. . . .

To the same.

BERLIN, *August 17, 1899.*

The prospects of the canal proposal are not encouraging. To-day we have, indeed, contrived to reach the third reading, but this is no advantage, as it is fixed for Saturday. Nothing has come of the proposed compromise between the Centre and the National Liberals, by the terms of which the Centre was to vote for the canal on the third reading, after the passing of the communal elections law. The Emperor declines to dissolve, as he thinks the poisons law more important than the canal, and requires the Conservative help in the Reichstag to pass the prisons law. I should prefer a dissolution. But unless the Emperor forms a Liberal Ministry — and this he will not do — a dissolution would do us more harm than good.

To the same.

BERLIN, *September 24, 1899.*

. . . I could not go back to Aussee. In the summer the sunshine and clear sky drive away gloomy thoughts. In the long autumn evenings I see Mamma writing at her table in the *salon* and reading the newspapers, and I think of all my past life. Then I grow despondent, and this I cannot bear. Here among all the intriguing figures with which I have to contend I forget all that oppresses me.

Journal.

BERLIN, December 4, 1899.

I went into the Reichstag to-day to speak to Bassermann, Lieber, and Rickert. I told Lieber and Rickert that I would support the proposal to remove the prohibition of associations (*Verbindungsverbot*), and that they could tell Bassermann not to attack me, as otherwise I could not give my support. They agreed, and advised me not to await a declaration from Bassermann, but as soon as the proposal came up to make my statement forthwith. The difficulty is that the plenipotentiaries to the Federal Council are instructed to vote for the settlement of the question by legislation in the several States, and that they, therefore, require new instructions. This does not matter, for I need only assert that Prussia will vote for the proposal in the Federal Council.

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BERLIN, December 6, 1899.

After his Majesty had expressed his agreement with the removal of the prohibition of associations I was able to take the necessary steps in the Ministry and the Federal Council, and was in a position to announce to the Reichstag to-day that the allied Governments would agree to the removal of the prohibition if Bassermann's proposal was accepted. This was passed on the second reading by a large majority, and so this troublesome business is finally settled.

To the same.

BERLIN, January 7, 1900.

. . . There is no news here, except that the conviction is borne in upon me with increasing force that I must prepare for retirement. . . . I must, however, await the naval debate. I should not care to disturb and compromise the result by a crisis, for I am anxious to see the matter settled, if in any way possible. We must not expose ourselves to the danger of experiencing from England the fate of Spain at the hands of North America.

Journal.

BERLIN, March 7, 1900.

Yesterday evening I spoke to the agriculturists, and emphasised the danger involved in the introduction of a system of prohibition into our Customs legislation,* and in the consequent rise in the price of meat, which would give the Social Democrats a valuable weapon for use in the elections. W. then urged against me that the country population would be just as embittered if they were deprived of their power to raise the price of cattle as the Social Democrats

* By the law for the inspection of meat.

would be if they could get no meat. In my opinion this is an erroneous view. The number of Social Democrats and other poor who would be injured by a rise in the price of meat is far greater than the number of the country population who would be irritated by the federation of the landlords. When his Majesty declined to dissolve the Landtag it was resolved to prohibit the participation of officials in the landlords' federation, or the support of the federation by the authorities. This has not been done. . . .

Speech at the dinner in honour of the Prussian Academy of Sciences upon the occasion of its two-hundredth anniversary.

I am delighted to have an opportunity of publicly expressing my thanks to the Royal Academy of Sciences for the honourable distinction* conferred upon me upon the occasion of its two-hundredth anniversary.

It is obvious that I do not owe this honour to my scientific achievements, but to my general interest in science as a whole, and to the support which it was my duty to give to science in the different official posts which I have held.

This connection with science forms the best part of my official work. To it I owe the honour and the pleasure of gathering distinguished scientists around me to-day, and of greeting men who have travelled from far to join us at this festivity.

This distinguished assembly has a special meaning for myself. Gentlemen, I have grown old in a belief in the progress, the continued progress, of humanity.

I must now admit that this belief has been somewhat shaken in recent years. The struggle for existence imposed upon us by nature has of recent times assumed a character and a direction which reminds us of its conduct in the animal world, and gives ground to fear that progress may be rather retrogression. It is therefore encouraging to see so many distinguished representatives of science, so many heroes of the intellectual battlefield, here assembled, and thence to derive the consoling conviction that there yet remains a sufficiency of intellectual power to confine the threatening wave of material interests within due bounds. May you be as successful in the future as in the past in the solution of this problem! I drink to the health of science and its representatives.

Speech of the PRINCE at the Sitting of the Reichstag of June 12, 1900.

Gentlemen, The deputy Liebknecht has asserted that before the autumn of last year no enthusiasm for a fleet existed in the

* The Prince had been appointed an Honorary Member of the Academy.

German nation. I cannot allow this assertion to pass unanswered. It has been repeated time and again by the Press, and is based upon an erroneous conception of historical development throughout the past century. I look back more than fifty years and recall the enthusiasm for a German fleet which then inspired the German nation; I remember the fact that, with the exception of Prussia, the Governments united in the German Federation adopted an attitude of refusal upon the question of a fleet, and I can therefore maintain that the desire for a German fleet is essentially of national origin. The history of the past century shows that the call for a fleet has invariably arisen whenever the desire for the unification of Germany became prominent, or the realisation of this desire seemed possible or probable.

There was, indeed, a time when the idea of a German fleet was very far removed. It was the period of the Diet. At that time we lived quietly and peacefully. Our economic condition was satisfactory, our debts were few, our taxes comparatively light, and we had no Agrarian party, though the territorial owners were reduced to extremities, especially between 1820 and 1830. We had no Social Democrats; and, above all, we were spared the anxieties of foreign policy — at any rate, in the States of the second and third order. These latter were content to keep a careful eye in the Federal Council upon the antagonism between Prussia and Austria, and to join one or other of these Great Powers as they were decided by the course of events and their own necessities. Upon the whole it was a period marked by the comfort and restrictions which characterise the policy of a little state.

This, however, was not enough for the German nation. Recollections of the old importance of the German Empire, and the misgiving aroused by the disruption and helplessness of Germany, steadily increased, and refused to leave us in undisturbed enjoyment of our material comfort. The idea of unification, at first chiefly supported by youthful students, found an increasing number of adherents, and produced the ferment of the revolutionary movements in the year 1848. We believed we had already attained our object when that movement was shattered by unfavourable circumstances. A powerful empire without a fleet is inconceivable, and when the idea of the Empire disappeared the wish for a fleet also died away. It was not until twenty years later that the Empire was founded by the victories of the united German armies amid the jubilation of the German people. Once again the demand for a German fleet reappeared, and all were agreed in their conviction of the necessity of that fleet which has steadily developed from that date. Since that time differences of opinion have been concerned only with the size of the fleet and of the amount to be expended upon it. The methods proposed whereby the means might be procured for supporting the army and the fleet ended in the reform of our Customs regulations, and this, again,

produced an industrial and commercial revival which made the necessity of a fleet for the protection of our trade even more imperative. It is not merely a question of securing the power to protect individual ships or to press our demands upon other countries; the real point at issue is our very existence as one of the great commercial Powers in the world. The German Empire cannot be dependent upon the goodwill of other powerful nations; it must stand upon a basis of its own and be able to command respect. Hence the necessity for a strong fleet. The history of our own times has taught us the fate of the country possessing an inadequate fleet. In conclusion, I would again remind those who regard the sacrifices which must be made for the fleet as too heavy that it was the idea of unity, the ambition to become a world-wide Power, originating in the German nation itself, which directed us to that course where we now pursue our way, and from which we cannot turn back.

The result of the second reading of the proposed Bill shows that this view is also shared by the great majority of this honourable House, and I do not doubt that the Reichstag, with its usual patriotism, will pass all resolutions to promote the welfare of the Fatherland.*

To PRINCE ALEXANDER.

BERLIN, *July 13, 1900.*

The delivery of the speech was a good idea. . . . His Majesty has telegraphed to me from Homburg:

"I return your congratulations with all my heart, for you also have good reason to be proud of the result. The Civil Code and two naval estimates — no Chancellor has ever been distinguished by the passing of two measures so important to the domestic and foreign development of our country.

"WILHELM I. R."

To PRINCE AMALIE.

WERKI, *August 26, 1900.*

. . . In a few days we shall be leaving Werki. It will be a final farewell, so far as I am concerned. My children will return at the end of the autumn to pack up the things which we are to take with us. If my life were not at its close, I should be very sorry to go. As things are, I can endure it, because it really marks only the conclusion of a happy past. I must be thankful that I can look back upon a happier life than is granted to the majority of mortals.

Journal.

HOMBURG, *October 16, 1900.*

I left Berlin yesterday afternoon at 1.40, and reached Homburg at 11.30 P.M., after an unpleasant journey in a vestibule car

* The Naval Bill was adopted at this sitting by 201 votes against 103.

which rocked like a yacht. Here I found a letter from Tschirsky informing me that his Majesty was expecting me to report the next day at noon.

I had intended to send in my resignation to-day through Lucanus, but it was returned with the information that Lucanus had gone to Berlin, and would not return before to-morrow. I therefore gave it to Tschirsky, who duly transmitted it to the Emperor. When I waited upon the Emperor at twelve o'clock he received me very kindly. We arranged for the convocation of the Reichstag, and his Majesty then said: "I have received a very disturbing letter." I then pleaded my health and my age as reasons for my retirement, and the Emperor expressed his agreement, and I saw that he had been expecting my resignation, so that it was high time for my resolve. . . . We then discussed my successor, and I was agreeably surprised when he immediately mentioned Bülow, who is certainly the best man at this moment. His Majesty then said that he would telegraph to Lucanus to bring Bülow with him, that we might discuss the details on the spot. I then lunched with their Majesties, and returned home with my mind relieved.

The Imperial rescript accepting the Prince's resignation, and the autograph letter conferring the order of the Black Eagle in brilliants, are dated October 17, 1900.

To PRINCESS ELISE.

BERLIN, *November 3, 1900.*

. . . I resolved to resign somewhat earlier than I had originally intended. During the final weeks various circumstances convinced me that a change in the Chancellorship would not be disagreeable to the Emperor. I am a constant sufferer from asthma and deafness, and so considered myself justified in taking the plunge and retiring from my life's work. The Emperor received my request with great kindness, and my resignation has been carried out in the most peaceful manner, and with no friction of any kind. I remained in Homburg the day after my resignation for the confirmation of Prince Adalbert, and their Majesties were highly pleased with this mark of respect.

I am always glad of these opportunities for convincing myself of the sincere Christianity of the Royal family. Amid the general infidelity of our age this family appears as an oasis in the desert. I then went to Baden for two days and then came here, where I am dividing my time between packing, paying and receiving calls. As soon as I have finished I am going to Schillingsfürst for a few days, and thence probably to Meran. Next week I shall say farewell to the Chancellor's palace. The recollection of Marie's death here makes the parting painful.

To the same.

SCHILLINGSFÜRST, December 1, 1900.

I am very glad to have Luthardt's book,* and thank you heartily for sending it. Now that I have laid aside the burden of office, the other problems that trouble humanity press upon me, and I see, in turning over the leaves of the book, that I shall find much information upon them.

I have recently been overwhelmed by the conception of "eternity." There is something so appalling in it that escape from the idea is impossible. I mean that it is appalling by reason of its inconceivable nature. The eternity of time and space is not only inconceivable, but unthinkable. Here faith alone can help us.

To the same.

MERAN, December 14, 1900.

All that you say of the Resurrection in your letter is perfectly correct, but does not explain the inconceivable nature of the eternity of time and space. God and Christ, Who is God, are eternal. Their actions are performed in time and space; but this has nothing to do with the inconceivable nature of these conceptions (time and space). And there can be no doubt that time and space are eternal. This great, imposing, indeed awful truth is incompatible with atheism. . . .

To the same.

MERAN, January 23, 1901.

So our good Queen Victoria is now dead, too. I mourn her from my heart. She was always a gracious friend to me, and after she had lost all her old friends, as one must in old age, she remembered one of the few surviving friends of her youth, and sent me a message last year through our Emperor to come and see her. I could not manage it, and I hoped she would come to Nice, where I would have visited her. I daresay the South African war was a greater anxiety than the old lady could bear, and that her life was shortened by the barbarously selfish policy of the English statesmen to which she was forced to submit. I shall ever preserve her memory.

The Princess of Salm-Horstmar writes as follows regarding the last months of the Prince's life:

"In May 1901 I was able to spend a delightful time with my brother in Berlin. The Tiergarten in May was charming. We took walks almost every day and conversed upon serious topics. 'How little men think of death,' he once said, and recalled an inscription which he had found in 1848 upon one of the family

* *Die apologetischen Vorträge.*

tombstones in Hohenlohe: 'Learn to die!' On Sunday morning I woke early with the thought that every Sunday is a fulfilment of the text 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' When I related this to my brother at breakfast he replied: 'Yes, that is very true.' On May 17 I was obliged to go away. The day before was Ascension Day, and incomparably beautiful May weather. My brother said: 'We will go once more for a short walk in the Siegesallee.' He promised to come to Hörter, and kept his word. He reached us on Wednesday, June 19, in the afternoon and remained, alas! only till Friday. God gave us the most beautiful summer weather during those days, and we were surrounded by abundance of roses. We travelled to Corvey. There the daughter of an official received him with the offer of a bunch of roses and a poem. We walked about the rooms where our childhood had been spent together. My brother wrote the names upon some family portraits the identity of which had been doubtful. We then went into the vault which my mother had built for my father in 1841, and to which my mother's coffin was transferred in 1897. The chapel over the vault is part of the old monastery church. My brother had not previously seen the two coffins there together. From the castle a pleasant path leads through trees to the door of the vault, and thence can be seen the wooded hills of the Solling. It was so solemn when my brother slowly walked along this path and said: 'It is sixty years now since our father died.' In the vault he laid two wreaths of white carnations upon the coffins, and was glad when I quoted the text 'It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption.' I prayed for a blessed reunion with the dead. On the way back my brother was again greeted with roses. Roses were everywhere about him. The visit to the vault was on Thursday, June 20, at eleven o'clock in the morning. Exactly three weeks afterwards my brother was laid with his parents in Schillingsfürst."

Prince Hohenlohe was attacked in Paris by a malady which greatly impaired his strength. He went to Colmar while still suffering, and spent a few days in his son's house. Though he had not recovered his strength, he wished to continue his journey, as he hoped to be recruited by the stay in Ragaz which he had proposed. On July 3 he arrived at Ragaz, and died there on July 6, 1901.

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